Daily Report

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

AFP reports that UN investigators probing the 3 September crash of an Italian relief plane en route to Sarajevo said that witnesses reported "they saw rockets fired at the plane seconds before it crashed." A preliminary investigation of the wreckage "indicated the aircraft disintegrated before it hit the ground." A UNPROFOR spokeswoman stated: "The only thing that we are sure of is that the (crash) zone is under Croatian or Muslim control." Rome ANSA reports that Italian Trade Minister Claudio Vitalone, commenting on the crash, said: "I really think, with the state of the news we have acquired, that this is a matter of aggression." He added: "Factors in our possession point decisively towards this judgment."

International Affairs

The cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, told Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, "to abide by the London agreements and hand over heavy artillery pieces by noon" on 12 September, AFP reports.

Yugoslavia

Federal--In an "open vote" on the motion of no confidence in Prime Minister Milan Panic in the Chamber of Citizens, TANJUG reports that "66 deputies were against the motion of no-confidence...30 were for and 7 abstained." After the vote, Panic said: "The government will review all the suggestions and proposals made by deputies during the debate." He added: "Many useful observations had been put forward in the debate."

Croatia

An agreement on implementation of the UN peace plan was reached between Marrack Goulding, special UN envoy, and Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, RSK. TANJUG reports that Hadzic "accepted Goulding's proposal that RSK reduce the number of policemen and border guards as the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is taking over control of the demarcation line between the troops of local Serbs and the Croatian Army." Hadzic noted that the "RSK would be further demilitarized on condition that UNPROFOR offer full protection to the Serbian people along the demarcation line, since there had been numerous provocations and attacks by the Croatian forces over the past few months."

Hungary

Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi told MTI that Hungarian exports to Bosnia will not go through Serbia. "This decision was passed by the Hungarian committee in charge of observing the UN embargo on Serbia and Montenegro. The decision does not apply to aid consignments," he said. In addition, customs authorities are checking all foreign shipments crossing Hungary toward Bosnia "with utmost care."

Romania

Twelve tankers filled with gasoline and driven by Yugoslav citizens arrived at the frontier checkpoint of Nadlac on 1 September, but were not allowed to enter Romania, ROMPRES reports. Two days later, they returned to the checkpoint with "modified" transport documents, and were again refused entry. Customs authorities considered it "a clear case of infringement of the embargo imposed to Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council."

Karadzic Told To Hand Over Artillery by 12 Sep

AU0609132192 Paris AFP in English
1320 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Geneva, Sept 6 (AFP)—The co-chairmen of the Yugoslavia conference Sunday [6 September] told Radovan Karadzic, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs, to abide by the London agreements and hand over heavy artillery pieces by noon next Saturday.

"The co-chairmen are informing Dr Karadzic that they expect him to honour the seven-day deadline by concentrating the heavy weapons concerned at notified locations around the four cities by mid-day on Saturday, September 12," a statement signed by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen said.

Vance, Owen Urge Resumption of Bosnia Airlift

AU0509174092 Paris AFP in English
1719 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Geneva, Sept 5 (AFP)—The co-chairmen of the international conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, have invited leaders of the republics to Geneva to discuss resumption of relief flights for BosniaHercegovina. U.N. envoy for Yugoslavia Vance and European Community representative Owen sent invitations to the leaders of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to attend talks here Monday [7 September].

An official statement Saturday said they "specifically requested that representatives of the former Yugoslav republics and representatives of international humanitarian organizations be present, with a view to discussing measures that may be taken in order to facilitate the resumption of humanitarian flights." They considered it "of great importance" that conditions allowing the resumption of flights "be re-established as rapidly as possible."

The two men announced their invitation following a meeting with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata. Ogata decided to suspend the airlift Thursday following the shooting down of an Italian aircraft involved in the operation near Sarajevo.

Witnesses said the plane had been hit by rockets, although the U.N. has so far refused to comment on such reports until investigators searching the crash site produce their conclusions. A team of investigators from the Italian Defense Ministry was due in Sarajevo Saturday to probe the matter.

The twin-engine plane crashed Thursday in a wooded area 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of the capital, killing its four-member Italian crew. Investigators of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Sarajevo said the bodies of the four had been recovered, and that evidence at the crash site indicated the plane had disintegrated before hitting the ground.

In Rome, Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro said he would attend Monday's burial of the four in Pisa.

In Ankara, the Foreign Affairs Ministry said Turkey had offered 1,000 men for a proposed 6,000-strong NATO force to protect humanitarian convoys in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In Zagreb, Marrack Goulding, representative for the U.N. peace effort in former Yugoslavia, meanwhile ended a six-day tour of the constituent republics and blamed paramilitary groups for hampering the return of refugees.

Goulding said that according to plans drawn up by Cyrus Vance for Croatia in November-December 1991, refugees and displaced people should be allowed to return safely to their homes. But the operation is being hampered by armed militia in Slavonia and Baranja, eastern Croatia, and Krajina to the south, Goulding said. Croatia has some 700,000 refugees.

Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman also stressed the need for the restoration of normal communications in Croatia, another point on the Vance plan.

Goulding said UNPROFOR would make serious efforts to reopen the motorway between Zagreb and Slavonski Brod, 200 kilometers (120 miles) to the southeast on the Bosnian border. [passage omitted]

Talks Begin on Resuming Aid Flights

AU0709150492 Paris AFP in English
1442 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Geneva, Sept 7 (AFP)—A private meeting of representatives of the republics of former Yugoslavia, aimed at trying to resume aid flights to Bosnia-Hercegovina, opened here Monday [7 September], officials said. The meeting aims at creating "confidence-building measures" between the various parties following the shooting down of an Italian aid aircraft by a surface-to-air missile Thursday as it approached Sarajevo.

The meeting was called under the auspices of the permanent Conference on Yugoslavia, created following last month's peace conference in London. Chaired by the Argentine Vicente Berasategui, secretary-general of the U.N. disarmament conference, the meeting took place under tight security.

Another working party, covering practical issues resulting from the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, was meanwhile chaired by the Briton Henry Darwin. The permanent conference's coordinating committee, chaired by U.N. chief negotiator Cyrus Vance and the European Community representative Lord Owen, was also expected to meet Monday afternoon, said their spokesman Fred Eckhard.

Serreqi Discusses Delegation's Goal in London

AU0509164692 Tirana ATA in English 0816 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—Albania abides by the peaceful solution to the Kosovo issue, considering the London conference as the most proper framework to this, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi told the ATA reporter.

The minister said at a conference on September 4, one day after the start of the Geneva meeting, that the main target of the Albanian delegation in London was that the problem of Kosovo be not treated in the context of minorities, but as a question of a people, according to the principles of self-determination. I stress this because the stance aired in the draft documents consisted in treating this problem in the context of national minorities, just as the questions of minorities in Krajina, Sandjak, Vojvodina, and the Albanians in Macedonia, said he. In the face of this our delegation put up concrete proposals for changes to the two basic documents of the conference.

Our delegation insisted in including in the statement of principles, which foresaw the basic principles of treating of the crisis, the right to self-determination and the principle of non recognizing the legal consequences of the acts performed by means of force, which implies the violation of autonomy of Kosovo. The final variant of the document reflected these two proposals of our delegation.

As far as the working program is concerned, said Mr. Serreqi, we persisted in treating of the issue of Kosovo at a separate group such as that of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Upon the persistence of our delegation, the working group was named "working group on the ethnic and national communities and minorities." In the context of this group there was formed a particular group on Kosovo, referring to it as an ex-autonomous region of the ex-Yugoslav Federation. Although this formulation did not fully fulfill our request, it was an achievement as compared with the initial formulae.

During the conference, the Albanian delegation made use of the bilateral meetings to make known our views and insisted in their fulfillment. We persisted in finding an as much positive solution as possible. London conference, said the minister in closing, was the initial point of a process for the solution to the Kosovo issue and the Albanian Government will not stop its endeavours for the correct and optimal solution in compliance with the legitimate requests of the Kosovo people.

Assembly Commission Discusses London Conference

AU0509165392 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—The meeting of the Permanent Commission of the Foreign Policy and International Relations of the People's Assembly chaired by the chairman of this commission, Eduard Selami, reviewed the results of the Albanian delegation at the London conference for ex-Yugoslavia.

The commission listened to the report by the foreign minister, leader of the delegation at this conference and appreciated the stand of the Albanian delegation which was in compliance with the Albanians' national interests.

The London conference was considered as a positive effort to solve the complicated problems of the region and the issue of the Albanians in ex-Yugoslavia.

The commission pointed once again to the foreign policy pursued by the Republic of Albania as "a national policy according to the current world standards, which seeks the solution of the problems of Kosovo and Albanians in ex-Yugoslavia and the fulfillment of their just demands on the basis of international norms and peaceful solution."

This commission also examined the draft law on the ratification of consular convention between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Greece.

Military Exercises Seen as 'Intimidation'

LD0409151392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1347 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—Albania's Army performs its exercises using heavy arms on the island of Sazan near Valona on the southern Albanian seaboard where the entrance to the Adriatic can be controlled.

Taking part in the exercises are Air Force, Naval and infantry forces of Albania. On Thursday [3 September], the exercises were followed by President Sali Berisha and Defence Minister Safet Xhulali.

The location of the exercises suggests that they are in direct service of an international pressure and intimidation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) with the possible military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the former member of the federation.

A Turkish plan for the possible intervention provides for the uses of Albanian airports and seaports, whereas in the port of Dures the U.S. frigate John Cole [name as received] from the aircraft carrier Saratoga unit has these days been "guest of the Albanian Navy."

European Human Rights Convention Ratified

AU0809050392 Sofia BTA in English
1715 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Daniela Weber report]

[Text] Strasbourg, September 7 (BTA)—The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Bulgaria to the Council of Europe Mr. Svetlozar Raev today handed Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, the instruments of ratification by Bulgaria of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the first protocol to the convention. Bulgaria became the country with the fastest accession to this fundamental European convention: exactly and merely four months after it was signed on May 7, 1992 and a little more than a month after the National Assembly ratified it on July 31. Mr. Raev also handed Mrs. Lalumiere two declarations: one under Article 25 of the convention, concerning the possibility of every citizen or non-governmental organization to file complaints to the European Commission of Human Rights, and another under Article 46, accepting the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights on all matters construed by the convention.

Mrs. Lalumiere observed that Bulgaria could serve as a model of the speed at which it acceded to the convention. "Bulgaria has accepted the text of the convention practically without reservations and we hope that it will be applied with the same expedition and seriousness with which it was ratified," Mrs. Lalumiere said.

Moldovan President Arrives on Official Visit

AU0609164092 Sofia BTA in English
1627 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—President Mircea Snegur of Moldova arrived on an official visit to Bulgaria this evening at the invitation of President Zhelyu Zhelev. After the talks at the Boyana Residence tomorrow, the two presidents are expected to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Moldova.

Mr. Snegur is accompanied by the deputy chairman of the Moldovan parliament, Mr. Dumitru Puntea, Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Kunev, Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu and Interior Minister Constantin Antoci.

Treaty 'Guarantees' Ethnic Rights

AU0709123492 Sofia BTA in English
1147 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Report by Iva Toncheva]

[Text] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur signed here today a treaty for friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries. The treaty was signed for a term of ten years. A special clause guarantees the rights of the ethnic Bulgarians in Moldova.

This is the first official visit of the Moldovan president to Sofia. Bulgaria was one of the first countries to recognize the independence of Moldova. Sofia and Chisinau established diplomatic relations in early February, 1992.

The two delegations also held talks today.

At their press conference the two presidents gave a high assessment to the treaty, stressing that it provides a good basis for promoting the relations between the two countries. The Bulgarian president said that a number of specific cooperation agreements will be signed on the basis of this treaty.

A special clause in the treaty guarantees the rights of the Bulgarian minority in Moldova according to international standards. This clause provides for establishing conditions for preserving and developing its ethnic, cultural and religious identity and for guaranteeing ethnic Bulgarians possibilities for studying the Bulgarian language, history, culture and traditions.

Answering a question, the Moldovan president said that there are 89,000 ethnic Bulgarians in Moldova. According to Bulgarian statistical data, their number is between 150,000 and 170,000.

President Snegur stressed Bulgaria's willingness to cooperate in the effort of the Moldovan Government to preserve the identity of ethnic Bulgarians in Moldova, for which, in his words, the Moldovan leadership would create the same conditions as for other minorities living in the republic. Asked whether there were requests by the Bulgarian side concerning the Bulgarian minority which he had declined, Mr. Snegur said that the Moldovan delegation arrived to Bulgaria with ready solutions. "This was not the first time we discussed this issue, yet today we took definite steps, which are reflected in the treaty," the Moldovan president said.

President Zhelev praised highly not only the respective provisions in the treaty but also the special decree of President Snegur on the preservation of the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of Bulgarians in Moldova.

According to the treaty signed today, Bulgaria and Moldova will develop their relations on the basis of mutual respect, trust and cooperation. The two sides agreed to contribute to strengthening security and promoting cooperation in Europe. If one of the contracting parties believes that a situation has emerged endangering or violating its security or territorial integrity, it may turn to the other with the request for holding immediate consultations.

In a special clause the signatories declare their support for regional cooperation. Bulgaria and Moldova were among the eleven countries which signed the Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation this June.

Bulgaria and Moldova will encourage the promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation in trade, reciprocal investments and the establishment of joint ventures and

banks, will cooperate in transport, power engineering, environmental protection, the prevention of transboundary pollution, in combating organized crime, especially terrorism, illicit drugs trafficking and illegal trade in arms and cultural and historical valuables.

Meeting on Cooperation With Turkey Concludes

Protocol Signed

AU0409200892 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Transport Minister Aleksandur Aleksandrov, Bulgarian co-chairman of the joint Bulgarian-Turkish Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation, described the protocol signed here today on the results of the 11th session of the intergovernmental committee as a "new beginning of Bulgarian-Turkish cooperation." The session was attended by a Turkish delegation led by Minister of State Orhan Kilercioglu.

"The session surveyed the bilateral economic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey," Mr. Aleksandrov told a joint news conference today. Bulgarian-Turkish trade tends upward, and by the end of 1992 it will be 30 percent higher as compared to the previous year. The protocol on the results of this meeting envisages that both countries should diversify bilateral trade to their mutual benefit. The Turkish Eximbank is expected to open a new credit line to support bilateral trade.

The protocol outlines the conditions for promotion of cooperation in power engineering, agriculture, tourism, transport and communications. Mr. Aleksandrov stressed the fact that Bulgaria and Turkey expressed their shared willingness to sign an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and reciprocal investment protection by the end of the year, which he said was a considerable success. Turkey is ready to equip Bulgarian hydroelectric power stations of up to 50 MW [megawatt] capacity. Both countries agreed to cooperate in the common operation of Bulgarian and Turkish shipyard facilities. The two sides also agreed to facilitate the import and transit shipping of livestock and farm produce and relieve visa formalities in the movement of goods and people. The opportunities of telecommunication traffic exchange were also discussed. This issue will be considered in detail during the forthcoming session of the joint committee in October.

Apart from the specific agreements included in this protocol, the two sides had the opportunity to discuss some more general political problems. The atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-neighbourly relations during this session and the shared desire of both sides to seek solution to the problems by means of dialogue was assessed as a stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

"Many articles in this protocol are different from the ones existing so far. We are ready to cooperate to put these agreements in practice soon," Mr. Kilercioglu said after the signing ceremony.

Turkey 'Determined' To Help

TA0509055492 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After signing a cooperation protocol in Sofia today, State Minister Orhan Kilercioglu and Bulgarian Transportation Minister Aleksandur Aleksandrov held a joint news conference.

Kilercioglu said that Turkey is determined to help Bulgaria, especially in its efforts to establish a free market economy. He pointed out that the recent immigration wave from Bulgaria was caused by economic problems. What is desired, he said, is for the Turkish minority to live in the land in which they were born in peace, security, and with equal rights.

Aleksandrov said that in addition to its economic dimension, the protocol has a political dimension as well.

Kilercioglu also met with Vekil Vanov, the Bulgarian minister of labor and social welfare. They decided that technical delegations will meet as soon as possible to work on the social security agreement cited in the protocol.

Kilercioglu and his delegation will return to Turkey this evening.

Rights of Turks Discussed

AU0509152592 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—The Government of Turkey will have to seek ways to settle certain problems in connection with the tacit emigration of Bulgarian citizens of Turkish descent, which has been in evidence over the last few months, Turkish Minister of State Orhan Kilercioglu told the press today. Mr. Kilercioglu was leading a delegation to the 11th session which the Bulgarian-Turkish Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation completed here today.

"We will seek ways to solve the problem in the conditions of calm, security and cooperation existing in our bilateral relations," Mr. Kilercioglu stressed. In his view, the tacit emigration is economically motivated. "I have my own information about this, and during my meetings with the Bulgarian leaders I was explained the same," the Turkish minister of state said, adding that the Turkish Government might take some measures with respect to visa requirements.

Mr. Kilercioglu announced that the intergovernmental protocol signed today treats some questions of the social rights of the Bulgarian Turks who emigrated in 1989 and who hold Turkish citizenship. The Turkish minister of

state said that his government would like these social rights to be transformed in Turkey.

Romanian Chief of Staff Ends Visit, Departs

AU0609161192 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary and chief of General Staff of the Romanian Army, said on leaving that his visit here had been very interesting and useful.

During a three-day official visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, the Romanian delegation conferred with Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev, with the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, with Deputy Defence Minister Nikola Daskalov and visited a signals unit.

The sides discussed the stages of the reform in the two armies which is expected to be completed by the year 2000 with restructuring and passing of the military departments under civilians' control.

The Romanian and Bulgarian Defence Ministries are to sign an agreement which, according to Lieutenant General Cioflina, will provide a basis for further relations between the two countries' military departments and armies.

"We run into similar difficulties in reforming the Army. That is why, the oftener we exchange information and experience, the faster will we cope with them," Colonel General Lyuben Petrov told the press as he was seeing off the Romanian guests at Sofia Airport.

Zhelev Sees Liberalism as Way Out for Country

AU0509181292 Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Text] Munich, September 5 (BTA)—"The economic reform in Bulgaria is liberal in its character and it is precisely its liberal character that makes it the most radical and promising reform. Liberalism is the shortest way that can take Bulgaria out of its current critical situation," President Zhelyu Zhelev said in an interview for Radio Free Europe [RFE]. Dr. Zhelev attends the Congress of the Liberal International in Mainz and yesterday was admitted as individual member of the International.

"Liberalism is needed in the intellectual sphere as well: Its alternative is rough, brutal violence which can escalate into a clasn and a civil war," Dr. Zhelev went on to say.

A week ago the president criticized the strategy of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and its government. Asked whether his criticism had been targeted at the government or at individual SDS members, the president said that it was a criticism of the blunders which the government made and to some extent keeps making. According to Dr. Zhelev, these blunders stir up tensions and he believes that these things had to be said publicly and openly before the whole nation. "It is a question of fundamental blunders and weaknesses which, if not corrected in time, may go beyond the point of control and have fatal consequences," President Zhelev stressed.

Following his statement last week some quarters in the SDS accused the president of betraying the SDS ideas and collaborating with the Socialist Party. In his interview for RFE, Dr. Zhelev described these accusations as "unserious" and expressed the view that such accusations and suspicions are survivals from the recent past.

Asked about the short-term prospects of the Bulgarian political scene, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that he expected the political pendulum to reduce its swing with the passing of time. The liberal ideology will be gaining ground, this is inevitable, the Bulgarian president believes. The actual implementation of the reforms will create the economic base on which liberalism will be a stable ideology, he emphasized in conclusion.

Investigator Seeks Author of Coup Rumor

AU0409152492 Sofia BTA in English 1506 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Prosecutor Angel Ganev, chief of the Investigation Department with the Prosecutor General's Office, today initiated preliminary investigation proceedings against a so far unknown person who spread a rumour about preparations for a coup in this country on September 2. Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian General Staff, denied the rumour later that day.

Mr. Ganev believes that yesterday's and today's stories in several dailies—PODKREPA, DUMA, TRUD, and DEMOKRATSIYA, which quoted anonymous sources, contain enough evidence of a public law offence. The act is characterized by extreme daring. It constitutes a crime under the Penal Code and is punishable by 5 years' imprisonment.

The Prosecutor General's Office believes the offence created a complicated situation in society and believes there are grounds for the measures which have been taken so far.

Reporters Asked To Check Recordings

AU0409195592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Excerpt] In listening to the next news item, I understand the reticence of Colonel Dimitur Vladimirov, chief of the National Protection Service, who refused to comment on the newspaper rumor about an attempted coup against the president. [passage omitted]

The Chief Prosecutor's Office kindly requests the assistance of all journalists who attended the news conference of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation headquarters, and who have made a recording of the announcement made by an unknown person on the alleged preparations for a coup.

Labor Leader Explains Source of Coup Rumor

AU0809090992 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
4 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ekaterina Popova and Katya Karagyaurova: "The Source of Report on Impending Coup Is Not Accidental, Konstantin Trenchev Claims"]

[Text] The source from which the press learned that a military coup was being planned against the president was not accidental. He is a man whom I trust, Dr. Trenchev told reporters on 3 September. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation president said that the conversation between the person in question, who prefers to remain anonymous, and media representatives actually took place at Podkrepa headquarters but this is as far as the confederation's participation in the affair goes.

In any event, the trade union leader did not exclude the possibility that several people harbored the intention of openly attacking the president, and he said that he was therefore pleased that the press helped to thwart implementation of such an idea. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation is not only opposed to such tumult and intentions, but will make every effort to prevent any attempt to implement them, Dr. Trenchev said, expressing the opinion of the Miners Trade Union Federation, which has been mentioned as the main participant in planning the events.

Clarifying how the information about the coup reached the newspapers, the Podkrepa president unfortunately refuted a statement by Marsel Levi, Defense Ministry spokesman, who was reported on the front page of PODKREPA as having publicly admired the rich fantasy of a DUMA reporter whom he said was the author of the rumor.

On 3 September Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov called the report about the impending military coup against Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev an insane idea aimed at creating chaos and turmoil. Talking to reporters at the Council of Ministers, the prime minister said that it was a paradox that, on the one hand, everyone seemed to be very much concerned about the tension, but, on the other, appeared to be competing with each other to intensify it. Those in power—the Union of Democratic Forces parliamentary faction and government—could do anything, and God forbid, even conduct repressions, but it would be ridiculous to think that they would organize a coup, Mr. Dimitrov said.

Defense Minister Explains Conflict With Military

AU0409194992 Sofia BTA in English
1635 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski today explained to Radio Free Europe his controversial order which disqualified military officers who attended less than four years in military schools and academies as holders of university education.

"The order is unpopular. It gained notoriety thanks to insinuations," the defense minister said. He believes that the order is misinterpreted as it does not strip officers of their military ranks. That is why Mr. Staliyski issued a second order explaining the first one but not canceling it, contrary to what the Chief of General Staff Colonel General Lyuben Petrov said on national television two days ago.

"The idea of the insinuations is to attack the civilians in the Ministry of Defense," the minister said. He stressed that there was no personal confrontation between him and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army. At the same time, however, Mr. Staliyski said Colonel Lyuben Petrov lied when he said that the minister had canceled his order. Mr. Staliyski was surprised to learn that without notifying him, General Petrov had asked President Zhelyu Zhelev for air time to go on television and make his statement.

Two days ago General Lyuben Petrov appeared in the central TV news programme to say that the order in question had been canceled and to express the hope that this would ease tensions among the Bulgarian officers. In the same statement he flatly denied the rumours about any preparations for a military coup in Bulgaria.

BSP Council Issues Stance on Zhelev News Conference

AU0609194792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
2 Sep 92 p 2

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] The DUMA editorial office has received a viewpoint from the Bureau of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council on the president's news conference on 30 August. The statement is as follows:

At his meeting with reporters on 30 August, President Zhelev made a number of highly critical statements concerning the ruling majority's policies. They are nothing new. One should not forget that quite recently, precisely the same assessments formed the grounds for seeking a vote of no-confidence in the government. For several months now, criticism of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has been intensifying. Today, there is not a single other political force that is so isolated politically, socially, and in the eyes of society as the SDS. It is high time for someone in the central institutions of state that are dominated by the SDS to acknowledge this fact. The president did this to argue his assertion that the central issue in the upcoming political season will be: "Will the SDS succeed in making a decisive turn in the policies it is implementing or not?"

This is mainly a problem for the SDS and its leaders, including Zhelyu Zhelev himself, as one of the founders. The central problem facing society will be whether or not

a national consensus will exist, and in whose name. The contents, directions, and social cost of the transition that the public demands—with or without the SDS—with the aim of emerging from the crisis and completing a genuine change of the system depend on the answer to this question. If the president realizes this, he has every reason to make an official address to parliament and the nation; he should not remain silent when the opposition, trade unions, and the independent press have been issuing warnings for months on end that there are serious things wrong with the SDS administration. These warnings were ignored by the blue (SDS) government. The government refused to draft a program for ruling the country. It preferred the comforts of cosmetic changes in the cabinet by blatantly forcing through votes "en bloc"; it preferred to irresponsibly reject the opposition's calls for national consensus; and it did not want to change its policy of confrontation, imposed by force.

The campaign of political trials is incompatible with the idea of national consensus, and the president is obliged to declare this. His evasive position on such issues is inadequate and unacceptable.

The policy of confrontation from a position of strength is doomed to failure. It will also mean downfall for the authors of this policy. However, after their demise, society will still be faced with a mass of unresolved and even insoluble problems. This must be prevented because today the SDS is clearly not the only possible motivating force for changes. Within society there is increasing dissatisfaction with the SDS and its policies, but not with the reforms themselves and their consequences. In its nine months of government, the SDS has proved that it is incapable of proposing a new strategy for the transition that will receive the necessary political and public support. This fact has in effect made the SDS a hindrance to the changes.

For the above reasons, President Zhelev is seriously mistaken in his attempt to reanimate the reformist potential of the SDS by issuing alarming warnings about the growing influence of the BSP. The philosophy of national consensus professed by the president cannot be realized without the participation of the main social forces, it cannot be achieved in opposition to them and despite them.

The BSP's view on this undoubtedly important problem is clear, consistent, and not subject to short-term political considerations. We will continue to unmask what is wrong with this formula of government, and we will work to create an alternative version for the transition that will stimulate public discussion and, in the long run, win public support.

The statements made by the president on 30 August were a correct step in this direction, and we are ready to support appropriate practical measures proposed by the Presidency because society expects clear positions from Zhelyu Zhelev the philosopher and sensible political actions from Zhelyu Zhelev the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, the viewpoint states in conclusion.

Daily Accuses Government of 'Spreading Rumors'

AU0809101992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5-6 Sep 92 p 6

[Emil Koen commentary: "Rumors Applied As Political Instruments"]

[Text] On 3 September, some newspapers, KONTINENT included, swallowed the bait about alleged preparations for a military coup. The newspapers investigated the facts and correctly attended to their task—namely, by informing the public. The facts are that in the afternoon of 2 September, a rumor about preparations for a plot against the president circulated among the Sofia dailies' editorial headquarters and in the offices of certain state institutions.

If the newspapers had failed to publish the aforementioned facts, they would certainly have spared themselves the new series of reprimands and attacks that several high-ranking state functionaries have launched against them. Everything would have been peaceful except for the fact that the public would have been deceived, because to withhold information is actually the same as lying.

Nevertheless, the story once more raises the problem of exploiting rumors as methods of policy making. Nearly every day a morning paper with low circulation spreads the most preposterous stories, signed by pen names, which are usually aimed at disgracing people known for criticizing the actions or the policies of the present rulers. On numerous occasions certain party organs have published for their readers a series of lies slandering whole social groups, organizations, or business circles. Such articles and reports can also be described as attempts to spread rumors because they are usually based on forged information.

This is how rumors have turned into political instruments, into levers for dealing with inconvenient people, into a means of prompting action—as was the case with Ludzhev's resignation.

In the past, totalitarian society, basing itself on the notorious Article 108 of the Penal Code, used to punish "anyone who spreads slanderous rumors affecting the state and social system" with sentences up to 5 years of imprisonment. Thus, totalitarian society persecuted those were telling the truth about it.

Democratic society can simply not exist without openness and the free flow of authorized information. However, this is possible only if the holders of public office who control the sources of information give up the practice of exploiting rumors for their own political purposes.

Hungarian Minister on Need for Military Cooperation

LD0409212792 Prague CSTK in English 1743 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest Sept 4 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak and his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur reiterated today the need for close cooperation in the military area.

Andrejcak who arrived in Budapest for a one-day official visit at the invitation of the Hungarian defence minister, told CSTK after his talks with Fur that the two countries' interest in peaceful coexistence is explicable just by the length of their common border. He said that Fur confirmed Hungary's will to develop to the full extent military cooperation in the framework of the "Visegrad Troika" regional grouping, also in case of Czechoslovakia's division into the Czech and Slovak Republics. ("Visegrad Troika", set up in 1991, comprises Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland).

Court Rules Against Law on Communism, Facism

LD0409214392 Prague CSTK in English 2017 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 4 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Constitutional Court today ruled that one part of the criminal code article banning the spreading of fascism and communism is not in accord with the charter of basic human rights and freedoms. The article, which is part of a criminal code amendment approved by the Czechoslovak parliament December 11, 1991, says that whoever supports or spreads a movement clearly headed towards suppression of the rights and freedoms of citizens or spreads national, racial, class or religious hatred (such as fascism or communism), will be punished with a prison sentence ranging from one to five years.

The court ruled that the article will be valid only if the text in brackets reading "such as fascism or communism" is left out, since the controversial term "communism" is not strictly defined anywhere in the criminal code. The wording of the whole article may be changed by the federal parliament in another amendment.

At the time of the amendment's approval, the Chairman of the Supreme Court of Czechoslovakia, Otakar Motejl, said the law does not affect the 400,000 members of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) unless they violate human rights.

Voting for the amendment were all deputies from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyuetteles (MKDH-EGYUET), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and all members of the parliamentary club of Social Democratic orientation. None of the deputies from the KSCM, the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) or the Democratic Left Party (SDL-former Communists) voted for the amendment.

A complaint against the amendment proposing the article's abolition was lodged in April 1992 by a group of 83 deputies to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) represented by chairman of the Left Bloc deputies' group Josef Mecl. Mecl, who is now member of the federal parliament presidium and chairman of the Left Bloc deputies' group, today said that the court's ruling was reasonable from the point of view of the purity of the criminal code, but also very conservative (since it did not abolish the whole article but only one part).

"I think the charter of basic rights and freedoms was not defeated at the court", Mecl said.

Klaus Sees No Need To Hurry EC Membership

LD0709220392 Prague CSTK in English 1226 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CSTK)—There is no need to hasten the Czech Republic's integration into the European Community (EC), Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus says in an interview in today's edition of the Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES.

Klaus says no country in the process of a split can enter any international community including the EC. Therefore, "in September 1992 this is not a topical issue (for the Czechoslovak Federation - ed.)", Klaus notes.

Asked when it will be topical, Klaus says "there is a big question mark hanging over the EC itself. Maastricht, which was an artificial and, in my opinion, unnecessary attempt to speed up the process of Western European integration, caused many problems", such as the negative outcome of a referendum in Denmark, Klaus says, noting that no one knows what a similar referendum in France will end in.

The third reason for a slower pace of integration, Klaus says, is that "the Czech Government is more conservative than many Western European Governments". Elaborating on the issue, Klaus says "the Czech government is resolved to remove (state) interventions and there is no need to reintroduce them via the EC".

"But not to be misunderstood, globally we naturally want to be a normal European country enjoying full rights (as other European countries - ed.)", Klaus says.

Commenting on the statements by the European Parliament (EP) foreign and security committee members Jannis Sakellariou on July 30, and Otto von Hapsburg some time later that if Czechoslovakia is splitting, the ratification of its association agreements with the EC has to be discontinued, Klaus says that in meetings with top EC politicians, such as British Prime Minister John Major and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, he was assured of a different view. These top politicians rather

than EP deputies will be deciding on how Czechoslovakia's association agreement will be transferred to the successor states and when the Czech Republic will be capable of joining the European integration, Klaus says.

Asked about the possible better chances of Poland and Hungary in joining the EC (the two countries plus Czechoslovakia signed association agreements with the EC last December), Klaus says he thinks there will be no delay for his country.

"Especially Poland, with its current political and economic crisis, does not seem to me more prepared to enter the EC than any kind of divided Czechoslovakia", Klaus concludes.

Slovak Prime Minister on Borders, Minorities

LD0709211192 Budapest MTI in English 1757 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Bratislava, September 7 (MTI)—"Changing borders peacefully," on ethnic grounds, is impossible without serious conflict. It would be disadvantageous for Hungary if its relations with neighbours worsened due to such suspicions. Slovakia is glad that the Hungarian Government sees these issues realistically when it assures Slovakia Hungary respects the inviolability of borders, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said today. Meciar spoke to Hungarian journalists before his visit to Hungary on Wednesday [9 September].

"Politics, however, is shaped not just by the government but also by groups in whose speech it is impossible not to trace nationalist overtones," he said.

Speaking about minority issues, he said Slovakia refuses to accept Hungary's proposal to conclude a bilateral agreement on the two countries' minorities.

"Slovakia's political leaders consider ethnic minorities living in Slovakia Slovakia's citizens. Slovakia is obliged to give its minorities guarantees not by bilateral agreements but by its Constitution. That is why we refused to accept Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's proposal on that.

"For us, a more acceptable way is a charter on minorities seeking to resolve problems concerning all the minorities of the world," Meciar said.

Criticising Hungarian minority policy sharply, Meciar said Hungary fails to guarantee European standard rights to ethnic minorities on its own territory. He termed it "paradoxical" Hungary still seeks to conclude agreements on minorities. "Minority problems may strongly affect relations. All steps failing to approach the minority issue from the aspect of human and civil rights when wanting to establish autonomous units of administration, may lead to destabilisation.

"Those seeking to create autonomous administrative units expect the state to renounce its own territory, its own citizens, and take steps towards uncertainty," Meciar said.

He also criticised endeavours of Hungarian political forces in Slovakia. In his view, the leadership of the "Coexistence" political movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia fail to represent interests of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

Speaking about the issue of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric dam, he said the first step in finding a solution is not applying to the International Court of Justice but to the Council of Europe or the EC, and both sides should be obliged to respect the decision. In Meciar's view, it is a realistic prospect that EC boundaries will expand in future to the eastern borders of Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. Until then, however, the countries will have to go a long way and that demands confidence in each other.

Slovakia rejects all solutions to the Gabcikovo problem that may link the matter to minority issues, Meciar said.

Meciar Interviewed on Slovak Constitution

LD0409224392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 4 Sep 92

["Regular" interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Ludmila Bulakova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bulakova] Mr. Prime Minister, we are recording this regular Friday interview in a rather unusual atmosphere. We can still hear the echoes of the fanfare from yesterday's ceremony for the signing of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. There is not much time for great celebrations, however, since, after the second step on the path toward the emancipation of Slovakia, the government that you lead has found itself in a new geopolitical situation. The entire burden for the fate of the 5 and ½ million people in this Republic rests on the shoulders of the Slovak Government. That includes those who do not have Slovak nationality. Do you think that the Slovak Constitution gives all citizens of the Slovak Republic equal rights and equal chances for self-realization under the same conditions?

[Meciar] Equality of citizens is one of the conditions for every democratic society. But this is equality in the sense of political freedoms and rights, as well as in the sense of legal rights—equality before the law. Naturally, people are not equal in terms of biology or property status, but regarding property, everybody must be given the same chance. Whether or not one takes advantage of this chance is a different matter. As for the government's responsibility for the fate of the Slovak Republic, it is indisputable, and the government is not running away from it. But I would like to say that everybody is responsible here. All citizens share this responsibility, and it is a degree of control of civic awareness. If the

degree of Slovakia's awareness becomes so great that we all are able to bear the responsibility, then we will be successful. If we work hard and are active in public matters, we will be successful. We will only fail if we cannot unite in the name of our basic goals.

As for the issue of equality, one must also understand it in the sense of nations and ethnic minorities. It is a Constitution for all citizens of the Slovak Republic, including ethnic minorities. Views that were presented in the parliament were extremes. For instance, a recognition of the right of ethnic minorities to use their own language—oral and written—in dealing with authorities would mean that, for instance in Komarno, the mayor would have to master Ukrainian, Polish, Romany, and German, along with Czech and Slovak. Such widely understood rights in effect mean the introduction of a Babel-type system into language relations. This does not exist in any state.

[Bulakova] Are you not afraid, Mr. Prime Minister, that the step taken by the Coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Egyuetteles, and the Hungarian People's Party [MKDH-ESW-MLS] and the subsequent declarations will have a negative impact on your impending talks with the highest Hungarian representatives?

[Meciar] First, the MKDH-ESW-MLS deputies do not represent all the members of the national minorities. We also have members of national minorities in our club and we do not speak about them as a minority, but as equal citizens with full rights. We respect them. They are members of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] club, and we are strengthening relations between the Slovaks and the Hungarians so we can all live well together here.

As for Hungary, it is evident that Hungarian foreign policy has exerted a great effort toward the transition to a system of bilateral agreements on national minorities, but that is always directed at national minorities on another territory—not on their own.

Also, during Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeszenszky's visit we stated quite unequivocally that if Hungary had at least as high a standard of human and civic rights with guarantees and factual security as Slovakia, then we were willing to talk.

[Bulakova] Let us return to the domestic political scene. While the first two state-forming acts—the declaration of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty and the adoption of the Slovak Constitution—were exclusively in Slovak hands, the next steps will take place on the soil of the Federal Assembly. The distribution of political forces in the Federal Assembly, and namely, the ban on a majority vote, allowing the blocking of any of the Chamber of Nations' legislative proposals, may be the reason why voices in the Czech Republic are saying that the HZDS is trying to freeze further talks on the state setup since your movement is, allegedly, trying to use the favorably distributed posts in the Federal Assembly, Federal Government, and other central bodies.

[Meciar] There are many doubting Thomases on the Czech side. If we did say something in Brno, it was only that we had critically evaluated the procedure in those areas where it had slowed down. If something did happen in Brno, then I think we refuted all the expressions of mistrust on the part of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], and they refuted our expressions of dissatisfaction.

The development does have a certain logic. It does aim at something, and individuals do not have the power to reverse it.

As for the nearest steps, it seems as if the roads are branching now. The Federal Assembly must adopt a law that will modify the manner of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia since the existing one is bad. The Federal Assembly must adopt a law that will stipulate the principles for property settlement and a law on changes in the division of powers so we can start work on preparation of the budgets, new tax laws, and new international relations. If we are to be recognized by 1 January, this will complicate passport matters, trips, diplomatic links, etc. All this must be done in time.

Furthermore, the National Council is simultaneously preparing a proposal on principles for cooperation with the Czech Republic. We are working very intensively on that now, and yesterday, the Slovak Government Presidium decided to apply to the U.S. Embassy for an extension of aid in the form of advisers in the areas of customs relations, currency union, and military cooperation.

[Bulakova] Playing into the hands of voices alleging that you want to freeze the Federation in the current state are the following kind of reports: Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of your movement, in reply to a question on whether it was agreed during the last talks in Brno to recall CSTK Director General Petr Uhl, said that he could not remember off-hand since there have been a great number of personnel changes. The question therefore arises: Why are changes at the Federal level necessary when the Federation is going to last for only a few more months?

[Meciar] Preparation of the transitional period is a complicated process, and one cannot carry out this preparation with people who are consciously impeding it, diverting it in different directions. This means that although they may want to do the right thing, objectively, they are doing the wrong thing. They are creating a situation in which nothing can move.

For instance, our criticism of Mr. Wagner at the Foreign Affairs Ministry was directed at the gross voluntarism in personnel work. If it is necessary for Slovaks to be sitting in diplomatic missions all over the world, then he cannot

invent reasons that would prevent them from being there by the end of the year. If he is impeding this process, he must leave.

A similar situation existed in the Federal Security and Information Service and in other institutions. As far as Petr Uhl is concerned, I would like to recall that he was justifiably criticized by us. Not all of our dissatisfaction has come out. For instance, out of 22 foreign representatives, only two are Slovaks. He recalled one of them after he questioned his professionalism. We asked him to substantiate it, and what was the outcome? He suggested that we recall him and mocked us. It was proven that Petr Uhl had contacts with the Kosice branch of the Federal Security and Information Service in 1990.

Other manifestations of dissatisfaction with his work were sought and they were, on the whole, justifiable. For instance, there was neglect in developing and building up the position of the Slovak Republic's press agency and in creating a different environment for cooperation. Therefore, I personally agree with him being recalled, although I did not think that this was the outcome of the agreement between the HZDS and the ODS. We presented our criticism, but we did not make the condition that he must leave. That condition arose from something else, not from political interests.

[Bulakova] Prime Minister, we began with the Slovak Constitution. Therefore, let us conclude our interview with the Constitution again. After it was adopted, doubts begun to arise as to whether the Czech side did act more quickly in drafting and adopting their own Czech constitution. The first reactions of Czech Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda to the effect that the Slovak Constitution runs counter to the Federal one, or rather the remark made by Mr. Kasal, deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, that by adopting the Slovak Constitution, Slovakia left the Federation, have caused concern whether we in Slovakia did not, after all, act too hastily. Mr. Prime Minister, what kind of first official reactions do you have from the Czech side?

[Meciar] The adoption of the Constitution was agreed on in advance. Even before the new government and the new National Council took office, the Czech representation, the ODS, and the HZDS mutually acknowledged their right to adopt a constitution. It is solely the Constitutional Court that is entitled to state the breach of law. Everything else constitutes personal opinions only, or doubts that are not justified by anything. Moreover, the current Constitution is a constitution of a different type, serving a different system. Hence, there was a logical assumption that there had to be something new in the new constitution. That is why even the Constitutional Court cannot say which constitution is valid. It can only state the differences between the two. This does not imply any introduction of a state of dual legality [dvojpravny stav].

I clearly expressed this point in my address when I said that it was in line with the political agreement achieved so far, with the valid program so far, a program that has been valid since 1968, even with the agreements with President Havel. The slow progress of the steps on the Czech side is caused by three problems, the first being the status of president. The president wants to be elected by all citizens and wants to have the corresponding power. If there is a candidate, there is still a problem. It is better if there is no candidate and if only the factual relation is resolved.

The second problem the Czechs are facing is Moravia and Silesia, whether to return to the historical land [zemske] arrangement or whether to accept the project of creating territorial units where one unit will have approximately 1 million inhabitants and will form a self-administered unit within a unitarian state.

The third problem they have in Bohemia is the three-fifths majority in the Czech National Council. All the opposition parties have 96 votes so far. The government coalition votes amount to 104. That is not enough for the constitution to be adopted. I am personally convinced that, following the talks we held with the political parties in Bohemia, the three-fifths majority will become possible—of course, if the opposition gives way in some matters, if it retreats in a well-organized manner and at the price of concessions. But that is the business of Czech policy, and we have no right to interfere with it. We can state our opinion. Yesterday, when saying good-bye, I assured [Czech National Council Chairman] Uhde that a Slovak delegation would come with great pleasure to congratulate the Czech Republic on the occasion of the adoption of its own constitution, on the adoption and the completion of the meaning of Czech statehood.

To understand oneself and to find oneself is perhaps the deepest knowledge that a person and nation may come to.

Parties, Movements React to Slovak Constitution

AU0709125992 Prague CSTK in English 2020 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Bratislava [dateline as received]—By adopting the Slovak Constitution, dual jurisdiction and a danger of legal chaos and conflicts arise, says a letter by the Civic Democratic Union (ODU) given to the Slovak news agency TKSR today. The ODU says in the letter "The HZDS's [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia] activity after the (June 5-6) elections causes anxiety about a possible development towards a new authoritarian regime and dictatorship".

XXX

Bratislava Sep 3—The Slovak National Party (SNS) considers the new Slovak Constitution only a first step toward statehood and prosperity, Slovak National Council (parliament) Deputy Vladimir Miskovsky (SNS) said today at a press conference. According to Miskovsky, SNS economic specialists anticipate a 20 percent decrease in the standard of living and a 20 percent unemployment rate in Slovakia within the next few

months. He emphasised that if Czechoslovakia does not break up, the economic damage would be even higher.

XXX

Prague Sep 3—Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), today described as "embarrassing" the way in which the Constitution of the Slovak Republic was discussed and approved. "The nationalistic process in Slovakia gradually begins to run counter to sensible and democratic development", Svoboda said at a news conference. He added that the very fact that the Constitution was adopted "in no way collides with the present (Czechoslovak) Constitution".

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 4 September on page 2 carries the following CSTK report in its "Parties and Movements" column: According to the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS), the approved text of the Slovak Constitution represents far too great a concentration of executive authority and a weakening of parliament's authority. MOS Spokesman L. Gyurovsky said in Bratislava yesterday that certain articles in the Constitution correspond to legal opinion—for example, the fact that state ownership is superior to other forms of ownership.]

Politicians Give Views

LD0609141892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Excerpts] In a telephone interview, Evelin Forro asked Coexistence Movement President Miklos Duray and Karoly Toth, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, about the new Slovak Constitution.

[Begin recording] [Forro] The new Slovak Constitution was adopted this week. Prior to the voting, the Coexistence Movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement left the room. Why?

[Duray] There are several reasons. We could simplify it by saying that we did not participate in the final voting because parliament rejected all our amendment proposals. It is a lot more complicated than that, however, since the entire process of preparing the Constitution was so much against democratic principles that we considered it wrong to participate in the voting at all. At the same time, we accept and recognize that Slovakia needs statutes; after all, a country cannot exist without a constitution. The fact is that the Constitution almost entirely ignores the rights of minorities and makes the creation of a centralized power possible. This could overrule all democratic decisions. We see a great danger in this. That is why we consider this Constitution unacceptable. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Meciar argues that the new Constitution absolutely conforms with international norms and gives a lot more rights to minorities than is their due. How do your view on this?

[Duray] I do not agree with Meciar's evaluation, and I am not alone in this. Except for officials and allies in his own party, nobody agrees with him. What is more, the representatives of one of his important allies, the Party of the Democratic Left, despite having voted for the Constitution, approach it very critically.

[Forro] What is left for the Coexistence Movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement to do since the Constitution has been adopted and is irrevocable.

[Duray] At the moment, it is difficult to say whether it will be possible to defend ourselves from possible steps that will violate rights. Soon, we will prepare a new draft that will work out in detail the cultural and educational autonomy of the minorities.

[Forro] You have no chance of this being adopted in the parliament.

[Duray] Despite this, we will submit it to parliament. We will also submit this to international organizations with the intention of gaining international support. The point has to be made that after 1 January, Slovakia will struggle for international recognition.

[Forro] So do you count on the international organizations to pressure Meciar?

[Duray] During the course of the next year, there will be tremendous problems in Slovakia—primarily, economic ones—which will be impossible to solve internally. Thus, Slovakia's own politics will have to be formulated within the context of the EC.

[Forro] How does the Hungarian Civic Party evaluate the new Slovak Constitution adopted this week? Karoly Toth is on the line.

[Toth] I think that what happened in Slovakia should have been expected in light of the power relations of parliament. [passage omitted] We consider this basically an antidemocratic constitution.

[Forro] You say that slight modifications have softened things but that, practically, it does not recognize the rights of minorities at all.

[Toth] It does recognize minority rights, but not in the spirit that the minority parties here would have liked.

[Forro] What is the difference? To what extent are minority rights guaranteed in this constitution?

[Toth] The basic difference is that the minority parties would have liked it if decrees and paragraphs protecting minorities had been put in the Constitution, but what happened is quite the opposite. Points protecting the nation's majority were put into the amendments. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Czech Press Comments

AU0709115192 Prague CSTK in English 0659 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 3 (CSTK)— Today's Czech newspaper comments focus on the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, approved by the Slovak parliament on Tuesday [1 September].

LIDOVE NOVINY writes in its editorial that "the Slovak Constitution is a constitution of a sovereign state." Czechoslovakia is visibly disintegrating and the phases of this process pass at a quick pace. Moreover, these steps are irrevocable and irreversible, the paper says.

In another comment the daily writes that the preamble of the Slovak Constitution indicates that the document in an expression of the will of the Slovak people, but the course of its passing by the parliament showed it expresses the will of one single man, of Vladimir Meciar.

RUDE PRAVO says the dream about a federation is definitively dead. The adoption of the Slovak Constitution "is an undeniable first great and resolute step of one of the republics towards changing the current constitutional system."

The passing of the Slovak Constitution may shift all talks on the future setup, including the approval of bills on ways in which the federation will be dismantled and property divided, onto "a pragmatic level free of emotions."

MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that the Constitution does not offer very optimistic prospects for Slovakia. "It virtually codifies a latent civil conflict." The preamble of the document, which speaks only of the Slovak nation and forgets the minorities is a "step backwards" from the point of view of the development of European democracies, the daily says.

The situation need not be dramatized, "it must just be realized that the will of the present Slovak political leaders for independence is unbreakable, and the process of the division of Czechoslovakia should not be protracted," the paper says.

The METROPOLITAN TELEGRAF believes that "some articles of the Constitution, however, speak of preference for the nation principle to the civic principle." This document will not stabilize the situation in Slovakia and great problems, arising from the wording of the Constitution, will arise. These problems, the paper goes on to say, will concern above all the political and nationality coherence of the Slovak state, because neglecting the legal preference of the civic principle will cause imbalance in ethnic relations.

"The adoption of the Constitution clearly puts an end to the possibility of maintaining a common state, though a limited one. Czech political representatives will naturally draw conclusions and priorities of the interests of the Czech state from this situation," the paper says.

PROSTOR writes that the debate on the Constitution in the Slovak parliament was affected in a negative way by the questionable value of the document and by Premier Vladimir Meciar's aggressive attacks on the deputies for the Democratic Left Party (SDL) and of the Hungarian MKDH [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement]-Egyuetteles coalition.

"When telling Hungarians, living in Slovakia, that first of all comes man, then citizen, and only then Hungarian, the Slovak premier ought to have related this statement also to himself and to the Slovak Constitution, which defines the state as based on the nation principle," the paper says.

CESKY DENIK says the Slovak Constitution "clearly points to a socially orientated market system of the future independent Slovak Republic," and adds that the establishment of an independent bank of issue in Slovakia would mean an end to a common currency and customs zone.

Government Limits Shipments Through Serbia

LD0409213392 Budapest MTI in English 1752 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—Instead of crossing Serbia, Hungarian exports to Bosnia will make a roundabout journey, Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi told MTI, Friday [4 September].

This decision was passed by the Hungarian committee in charge of observing the UN embargo on Serbia and Montenegro. The decision does not apply to aid consignments.

In exceptional cases, if the destination is duly verified, deliveries to Macedonia can cross Serbia, Martonyi said.

For foreign shipments crossing Hungary towards Bosnia, it was up to the UN's Sanction Committee and authorities of exporting countries to prevent abuses.

Hungarian customs authorities are checking these shipments with utmost care, the state secretary said.

EC Observers To Deploy on Border With Yugoslavia

LD0409211592 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—Under a resolution of the recent London Conference on Yugoslavia, the European Community is to deploy observers in Szeged, southern Hungary.

They will monitor the neighbouring section of the Yugoslav border, EC mission operational chief, L. Vachon, told a press conference in Szeged on Friday [4 September].

A five-member EC delegation held talks with officials in Budapest on Thursday and in Szeged on Friday. In the afternoon, they visited some locations on the border.

Vachon noted that the London conference had approved Hungary's request for EC observers to be deployed. The observers, whose headquarters will be located in Szeged, will arrive after an agreement has been concluded with Hungary, possibly within a month.

The group will comprise 20 to 30 observers, who will monitor the border in three-member patrols. Observers will send reports to the Zagreb headquarters of the mission.

From there, the documents will be forwarded to London and then to all countries of the EC.

I hope that no one will call the observers' impartiality into question, so they can be free to get information, Vachon said.

Austrian Border Guard Turns Back Yugoslav Refugees

LD0709222192 Budapest MTI in English 1257 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Over the last two months, Austrian border guards have sent back 6,200 Yugoslav citizens lacking visas, spokesman for the Hungarian border guard, Colonel-General Attila Krisan told MTI on Monday [7 September].

The visa requirement introduced in early July continues to be strictly observed in Austria.

Hungarian border guards late last week checked nearly 1 million passports, arrested 130 border violators, and turned back 7,200 foreigners, mainly Romanians.

Of the 5,600 Hungarians heading for Romania, 340 were denied entry to the country.

Belgium's Claes Hold Talks on EC Membership

Goncz on EC Admission

LD0709211892 Budapest MTI in English 1437 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Cooperation between Hungary and Belgium at international forums, including the United Nations Organisation, was proposed by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz during his talks with Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes in Budapest on Monday [7 September].

According to presidential spokesman Andras Farago, Goncz said that such cooperation could promote the adoption of views shared by the two countries at international forums.

Goncz sought Belgium's help for Hungary's early admission to the European Community.

He stressed that the association should come about when necessary conditions are ensured. There is a need for considerable preparations on both sides in this field, Goncz added.

Claes pointed out that the EC was facing a difficult period when all member countries have to take a stand on the Maastricht agreement, after which the enlargement of the EC can begin.

He said, "I am not against expanding the EC. I feel that a single Europe implies not only an economic and financial, but also a political community, since this can guarantee the security of all countries."

The Yugoslav question also figured on the meeting's agenda.

Goncz indicated he has a standing invitation to Belgium, which he would like to meet at the earliest opportunity, the spokesman said.

Antall on Stability

LD0709212992 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Eastern-Central Europe's status, relations between the EC and the Visegrad Three, and bilateral ties dominated talks between Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall today.

Eastern-Central Europe is unable to create stability by itself: It still needs support from the European Community, NATO, and other integrating Western organisations, to build democracy, Antall said.

Slovakia's efforts to put the Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant into operation threaten redirection of the Danube, a Hungarian-Slovak border river, which would be the first such border violation in Europe since World War II, Antall said.

Hungary, therefore, will apply to the International Court of Justice at the Hague, and asks Belgium and all EC countries to prevent by joint action the redirection of the Danube and aggravation of tensions.

Claes promised to call attention to the problems mentioned by Antall at the next EC foreign ministerial meeting in London.

He said he saw no obstacle to ratifying association accords concluded between the EC and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, the members of the Visegrad Three regional group.

On bilateral ties, Claes said his government would encourage Belgian investment in Hungary.

Jeszenszky on Cooperation

LD0709172492 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—The Monday [7 September] Budapest talks between Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Willy Claes of Belgium covered bilateral ties, relations between Hungary and the European Community, the cooperation of the Visegrad Three—Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary—and the South Slav crisis.

Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman later told MTI that the joint communique signed by Jeszenszky and Claes assures Hungary of Brussels support regarding its cooperation with the EC, the Western European Union and NATO.

Belgium pledged to speak out for accelerating the ratification of the Hungary-EC association agreement.

The joint communique also calls for establishing political dialogue between the Visegrad Three and the Benelux Union.

Csurka Explains Position on MDF Statement

AU0809115392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 3 Sep 92 p 5

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by reporter identified as Mocsonoky; place and date not given: "I Indeed Applauded the Prime Minister—Istvan Csurka on the Decision of the MDF Faction"]

[Text] The following statement was published after the meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] faction: "The parliamentary group of the MDF deputies discussed issues arising in connection with Istvan Csurka's study 'A Few Thoughts.' The group of deputies decided that it agreed with every aspect of the views expounded by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the 31 August session of parliament."

In this speech, Antall said among other things: "Istvan Csurka replies to many questions using a false interpretation, causing political damage and making mistakes; neither I nor the government can identify with this, just as the Presidium and the National Board of the MDF could not identify with it."

[Mocsonoky] Are we to understand this in such a way that the faction has now also distanced itself from your study?

[Csurka] The faction accepted the entire Antall speech. The above statement was certainly in the speech. However, the prime minister also made other statements that were very important for me. I quote: "In my view, this unequivocal decision of the Constitutional Court means that the prime minister's proposition was in accordance with the constitution and the president of the republic should have signed it. Everything that intends to extend constitutional rights upsets the unity of the constitution." Or in another place: "I believe that cooperation between the president of the republic and the government has to be based on the constitution and this would be received favorably both in Hungary and abroad." What does this mean? It means that the prime minister said certain things in front of the parliament that he had not said before. I am fully satisfied with this, and [Chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats] Peter Tolgyessy saw correctly that I applauded the prime minister, although at the end of his speech he again said that he did not identify himself with my study. A writer, even one turned politician, has to accept this. At the publication of my works I never thought that they would meet with a uniform approval. However, I am happy that I have given the prime minister an opportunity to say these words.

[Mocsonoky] However, after the stormy reception of your study, do you feel that you have not achieved your real goal?

[Csurka] I believe and I think it is true that I achieved the desired effect, in fact, even more than I had expected.

People have started to think about the problems I raised and this goes through all organizations of the MDF and through other groups of society. I must call attention to the fact that, in many cases, people are discussing their interpretations of my study rather than what is written in it. They do not deal very much with its essence, though I want changes in many areas. Instead of presenting arguments, they give me labels and call me names. I could mention Imre Kerenyi, according to whom I should be made to have a nervous breakdown. I congratulate this deeply humane and democratic way of thinking. I do not know how such a person can lead a theater....

[Mocsonoky] Nevertheless, the faction's decision raises the question of how big are the forces that support your ideas calling for changes?

[Csurka] I do not want to put together statistics on either supporting or contradicting views. I am not boasting, and I do not want to analyze why this behavior is needed because politics is very refined teamwork. Now, I believe, everyone has to calm down. In this terrible drum-fire, it is not the time to give immediate answers to questions that were raised. The hullabaloo surrounding the study has to stop first and then, when there is peace and quiet, I can further develop my thoughts.

[Mocsonoky] Can two people who have diametrically opposing views like you and Jozsef Debreczeni stay in the same faction?

[Csurka] As you know, I will soon leave the Cultural Committee, but I will not leave the MDF and I do not expect this from Debreczeni, either. Nevertheless, he has to see the consequences of his views, but I do not wish to say any more about it.

Szuros Interviewed on Csurka Document

AU0809102592 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Sep 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with National Assembly Deputy Chairman Matyas Szuros by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Dangerous Self-Legitimation"]

[Excerpts] Do you think that the mention of your name—hinting at positive cooperation—in the famous Csurka-document has put you in an awkward position?—I asked Matyas Szuros. The aforementioned document that has stirred a big political storm in Hungary says that in the period prior to the change in the regime, Imre Pozsgay and "his narrow circle" represented Magyardom, while Matyas Szuros and his team only came on the scene later.

[Szuros] I do not think that anyone who knows my life and activity could misinterpret this part of the questionable pamphlet. Csurka mentions the fact that, in the 1980's, there was a group within the reform wing of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] that was committed to national issues. By adjusting to realities, rather than in a bullying way, this group tried to expand the scope of our foreign policy, and it brought up the problems of the Hungarian living beyond our country at various forums. This group also questioned the unilateral term of "the last ally" [reference to Hungary being Nazi Germany's last ally], and it also tried to do something in order to be able to remember the fallen soldiers in a humane way. Obviously, at the end of the 1980's, we also cooperated with many members of the national opposition on the issue of Hungarians living in Transylvania. Imre Pozsgay and myself held talks with them on these fateful issues. For example, at Csurka's request, we intervened to settle concrete refugee issues.

[Bossanyi] However, you seem to be presented as an ally now and, aware of the entire line of thought of the Csurka-document, it is subject to misinterpretations.

[Szuros] I do not think so. However, I do think that Csurka's pamphlet could damage the national cause, a national cause that is represented by us, one that includes various ethnic groups too. From a domestic political viewpoint, it could cause damage because the neighboring countries might misinterpret the document's eliminative foreign policy "message" and that could increase anti-Hungarian nationalism. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] So you distance yourself from the Csurka-document in every respect.

[Szuros] Such a presentation of problems is damaging. I cannot imagine cooperation with Csurka on this basis. Unfortunately, this view could automatically be further stimulated by the difficult social situation prevailing in Hungary. This is where I see the danger of "Csurkaism." This is why I regard as extremely important our prime minister's recent position and the subsequent parliamentary debate. At the same time, I think that the press, for example, should give more space to the real patriotic tones. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] This spring, you got into an argument with [Socialist Party Chairman] Gyula Horn and people started to speculate that two politicians well-versed in foreign political matters are rivals. Have you succeeded in settling the affair?

[Szuros] We are not angry with each other and there is no tension between us. Besides, this was a conflict of views, not rivalry. We succeeded in clarifying the most sensitive conflict of views: In the current historical phase, the correct position for the democratic left-wing party is to preserve its image and complement it, and generally to keep at an equal distance from both the conservatives and liberals. The congress accepted this.

[Bossanyi] However, can one keep at an equal distance when fascist views are gaining ground and influence in the leading government party, and the Csurka-document is a clear sign of this?

[Szuros] There is no equal distance in evaluating the Csurka-document. However, one should not react in an extremist way to extremist views. For example, this is why I do not think that Jozsef Debreczeni's final conclusions were right. If he had spoken about the dangers inherent in the spreading of views formulated by Csurka, perhaps Debreczeni would have achieved more. For the time being, however, Csurka's position is a personal opinion. It would really become dangerous if it got to the level of official policy within the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. This is what we should avoid.

[Bossanyi] So, the Csurka-document does not make you reevaluate the principle of keeping equal distance and striving for closer cooperation with the liberals.

[Szuros] I consider closer parliamentary cooperation to be something natural. However, it is only worth talking about other things after the elections.

[Bossanyi] You said that you approached the issues in a nonideological way. Let us see then the practical aspects. As a politician familiar with foreign policy issues, what is your opinion about Csurka's statement according to which the president of our republic is directed from Tel Aviv and New York?

[Szuros] This is absurd. [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs Association on Security Policy

AU0409202692 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 2 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 2 Sep (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Affairs Association on Wednesday [2 September] reviewed trends in Hungary's security policy.

In his lecture, Deputy Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ivan Baba pointed out that growing social tension, organized crime intertwined with state life at many points, and environmental damage jeopardize global security in the same way as the nuclear threat in the bipolar world system. Uncontrolled conventional armaments pose a direct security risk to Central and Eastern Europe, he added.

Attaining full membership in NATO and the Western European Union as soon as possible is a principal objective of Hungarian security policy to have the cover of the Western safety shield over the region, including Hungary, Baba said.

Deputy Defence Ministry State Secretary Rudolf Joo pointed out the emergence of new states in a battered economic environment with poor political culture along Hungary's borders. Serbia, Slovakia and Romania are accusing Budapest of military preparations. Special attention should be given to the possible fusion of Romania and Moldova, in which case Bucharest could conceivably strive to gain a kind of middle-power status in the region.

Hungary has one of the smallest and worst equipped armies in East-Central Europe, with a strength of 100,000 (four years ago it was 150,000), compared to 220,000 in Romania, 170,000 in Czechoslovakia and 600,000 in Ukraine.

In view of the potential hazards hidden in such disproportions, Hungary has to work to strengthen its security by both diplomatic means and the development of defence capabilities, Joo stated.

German Defense Committee Chairman on Arms Sales

LD0609135892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Excerpts] A Defense Committee delegation from the Hungarian National Assembly recently visited Bonn. Correspondent Lajos Szelestey interviewed Fritz Wittmann, chairman of the Bundestag defense committee, about the way Germany sees Hungary's role in the new European security system.

[Begin recording] [Wittmann in German with Hungarian translation] Hungary is a stabilizing factor in the region. This must be not only appreciated but supported as well.

[Szelestey] On what do you base this?

[Wittmann] First, the spiritual-moral state of affairs is calmer than in several of the neighboring countries; economic development is also faster; and, finally, Hungary is considered a focal point in Eastern Europe owing to its geopolitical situation.

[Szelestey] Despite this, you treated us the same way as the neighboring states when we asked for weapons from the former GDR army's stock. [end recording]

[Szelestey] As far as the chairman is concerned, he supports the request because the Hungarians only want to replace the military equipment that has become inoperable. They observe the prescriptions of the Helsinki process. It is the Bonn government's right to decide, but in his view the time is not yet ripe for the transfer of weapons because of the Yugoslav crisis. [passage omitted]

Regarding the potential arms sales, he asked for understanding because Germany is in a new situation and the foreign minister is new. The issue of German units being deployed outside the country's borders and the NATO sphere of operations is being raised. He believes that Germany must fulfill the increasing responsibility that the country faces. His personal view is that the West will not stand idly by if Hungary is attacked by any state. [passage omitted]

Cooperation Discussed With Czech Foreign Minister

AU0709124392 Prague CSTK in English 1206 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw Sep 3 (CSTK correspondent)—Czech Minister for International Relations Josef Zieleniec today said he is convinced that changes in Czechoslovakia will not complicate Czech-Polish relations and that the Czech Republic and Poland will find ways of opening up new scope for cooperation.

Zieleniec, on an official visit here since Wednesday [2 September], was reacting to a statement made by Polish Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the beginning of their talks.

Skubiszewski pointed out the need to consider many questions ensuing from "the new situation that has arisen on Poland's southern borders".

Skubiszewski described Czech-Polish relations as very good, adding that much could still be improved to the benefit of both sides.

"We are convinced that the breakup of Czechoslovakia will not change the very good relations which have prevailed between Czechoslovakia and Poland, and that future Czech-Polish contacts will be just as good or even better," Czech Minister for International Relations Josef Zieleniec said today after a meeting with his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Zieleniec and Skubiszewski agreed on the possibility of concrete bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Visegrad Troika (comprising Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary), on the rapid establishment of a free trade zone and on common interests in European integration.

"The cooperation begun in Visegrad (in February 1991) undoubtedly has a future. There are problems which are better solved regionally than bilaterally," Skubiszewski said.

"Poland and the Czech Republic agree in their European policy. Poland's strategy is geared toward integration with the European Community, and that goes for the Czech Republic too. Our politics are oriented unambiguously toward Western Europe, and that unites us," he added.

In this connection he pointed to the common interest of the Czech Republic and Poland in moving closer to NATO and the Western European Union.

Zieleniec told CSTK the Polish representatives displayed understanding for the process of establishing two independent states as well as a belief that there will not be any change in principle in mutual relations.

"Conversations with Premier (Hanna) Suchocka, Minister Skubiszewski and at the Ministry of Finance show that there is good will and an appetite to follow through on it," Zieleniec said.

After his two-day visit to Poland, Zieleniec is returning home tomorrow morning.

Joint Statement Signed on UK Labor Cooperation

LD0709224392 Warsaw PAP in English 1351 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Boni and British Secretary of State for Employment Michael Forsyth on Monday [7 September] signed a joint statement on further technical assistance under the Know How Fund, launched in 1990.

Under the joint statement on cooperation between the ministries, in the years 1992-93, the British side will devise a plan to set up the Central Employment Agency, start training programmes for Polish employment officials and assist Poland in working out a vocational retraining scheme for the jobless.

British experts will provide assistance in preparing strategies of developing employment market in Krakow, including their help in reskilling part of the workforce in the Sendzimir steelworks.

Asked about prospects for the employment of Polish citizens in Great Britain, Minister Michal Boni vowed to set up a working team responsible for the implementation of this part of the association treaty with the European Communities which refers to the flow of workforce.

During his three-day visit to Poland, Michael Forsyth will fly to Krakow to review his department's activities there under the Know How Fund.

Centrist, Peasant Parties Conference Opens

LD0709174292 Warsaw PAP in English 1033 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—An international conference "Europe Through Cooperation Among Nations" opened its debates on Monday [7 September], attended by representatives of a number of European peasant and centrist parties and fourteen members of the European parliament.

Opening the congress, leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Waldemar Pawlak stressed that the meeting is an interesting example of search for common ground for international cooperation in Europe.

The Warsaw meeting is devoted to problems of democracy, relations between nations and international communities and to the situation of agriculture in Central and Eastern Europe.

Walesa Calls for 'Confederation of Solidarity'

LD0709220992 Warsaw PAP in English 1315 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—President Lech Walesa on Monday [7 September] morning met for over two hours with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Chairman of the Solidarity Trade Union Marian Krzaklewski to discuss the current situation in Poland.

Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski holding a press conference after the meeting said that the president presented a proposal to form a Confederation of Solidarity of reform-oriented forces which would deal with some key problems.

The proposed confederation would focus on the drafting of a leading programme for Poland and completion of systemic reforms. The new body would also work to solve the most urgent problems such as unemployment and explain recent economic scandals which shocked Polish society, Drzycimski said.

Marian Krzaklewski said while referring to the future talks with the government on the situation in enterprises that there was a need for deep legislative changes which would be seen by people as concrete changes in the system which was functioning up to now.

The Solidarity leader opined that steps leading towards the elimination of the excessive wage tax, and a law on the reduction of debts of enterprises were among the most important topics of the forthcoming negotiations.

Zdobyslaw Milewski, Premier Suchocka's press secretary, said after the conclusion of today's meeting, that talks between government and representatives of trade unions, to start later in this week, are to focus on issues linked with the privatization process and the participation of employees in that process as well as on the reform of the pay system.

Suchocka: Government Hinges on Agricultural Success

LD0509223492 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Text] Czestochowa, Sept. 5—Success for my government will not be possible without clear success in the agricultural sector, Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said in Czestochowa on Saturday [5 September].

Speaking at a meeting with Polish farmers on the eve of religious ceremonies at the Jasna Gora monastery to celebrate the current harvest, Ms. Suchocka noted that her government had taken measures from its first days to alleviate the problems faced by Polish agriculture.

She highlighted the government's request for the banks to issue additional credits to assist with seed purchases, fertilisers and payment for agricultural services. "We want these to be low-interest credits to assist drought-affected areas," she said.

She noted the government's moves to limit the export of agricultural products, and to control imports of fodder, and further moves to make Polish agricultural produce more competitive in domestic and world markets.

Ms. Suchocka referred to the 300 million dollars of credits which the World Bank had made available to Poland for investments to improve the country's rural infrastructure, and to the government's wish for Poland's small-scale private farmers to be the main beneficiaries of the privatisation of state-owned farms. She stressed that it was not the intention of her government to permit large private estates to take the place of the state farms, reducing farmers to the level of leaseholders on unfavourable terms.

In a discussion which followed her address, many farmers criticised errors in government policy towards agriculture, and attacked what they saw as the lack of a clearly-defined policy towards the Polish countryside. They also called for more flexibility on the part of the banks in their credit policies. Many were also critical of the Agricultural Market Agency, and other state agencies working in the agricultural sector.

Macierowicz Expelled From Parliamentary Club

LD0409205392 Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—Former minister of internal affairs Antoni Macierewicz was expelled from the Parliamentary Club of the Christian National Union (ZChN), deputy Ryszard Czarnecki, ZChN Parliamentary Club press spokesman told PAP on Friday [4 September].

The expulsion of Macierewicz is the result of a motion passed by the club's presidium, added Czarnecki. 37 club members voted in favor of the motion, 13 were opposed, while 3 abstained.

The decision to expel Macierewicz was dictated not only by the manner in which the former minister dealt with the May parliamentary resolution pertaining to access to confidential information but also for behavior described by other club members as divisive.

Macierewicz told PAP that he will continue to act in accordance with the Christian National Union Party policy which he co-authored. "Presently, I am an independent deputy" he added.

Sejm Rejects Resolution on Opening Ministry Files

LD0409195592 Warsaw PAP in English 0835 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—The Sejm (lower house) voted down on Friday [4 September] a draft resolution obliging the interior minister to reveal to MP's [member of parliament] the contents of their secret files stored at the Interior Ministry's archives and dated from 1944 to 1989.

129 deputies voted in favour of the draft resolution, 140 were against and 34 abstained from vote.

Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski told MPs on Thursday that the draft was illegal since it was forbidden to disclose information about citizens which had been obtained in surveillance operations. He added that the draft resolution ran counter to the law on state secret protection.

The resolution had been proposed by the "Movement for the Republic of Poland" (RDR) and the Centre Alliance (PC).

Security Service Chief Interviewed

AU0809104592 Poznan WPROST in Polish 30 Aug 92 pp 13, 14

[Interview with Jerzy Konieczny, chief of the UOP, by Katarzyna Nazarewicz; place and date not given: "A Proper Echo"]

[Excerpts] [Nazarewicz] How did you join the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP]?

[Konieczny] While on vacation in Gorce two years ago, a police car came driving toward me along a forest road. I thought to myself: "How nice that they are not coming for me." But I was wrong. They were. That was the voivode of Katowice's way of finding me and bringing me to him. He had been looking for someone to head the local UOP cell, and deputies from the Citizens Parliamentary Club had suggested that I was a good candidate. Several days later, Interior Minister Kozlowski handed me my appointment. Six months later, Andrzej Milczanowski, the UOP chief at the time, took me to see the prime minister, and I became UOP deputy chief. [passage omitted]

[Nazarewicz] Do you think the UOP should be made independent of the Interior Ministry?

[Konieczny] Of course. The ministry is badly organized and too powerful. A democratic state cannot have such a powerful and independent institution. The state should be foolproof [preceding word in English], immune to various machinations by fools. On the other hand, the UOP is not an instrument of repression. Our job is to disclose dangers and inform the state leadership of them. Our job is to know things. We only have limited power to conduct criminal investigations. We carry out the instructions of the prosecutor's office and courts. The UOP Act contains a clause that imposes severe punishment on anyone who uses service information for purposes not connected with the UOP. That is meant to prevent the use of UOP information for propaganda purposes, a practice commonly employed by the former Security Service [SB].

[Nazarewicz] The UOP Act restricts the use of technology, e.g. eavesdropping devices, in investigations because that harkens back to the days of the SB that used such methods in its surveillance and other illegitimate actions. Are you now suffering as a result?

[Konieczny] The restrictions on our activity are too far-reaching. We have difficulty with pursuing economic matters. Our powers in this sphere have not been clearly defined. We cannot use technology to investigate, for instance, acts of sabotage against the banking system, but is that not as serious as an act against the state?

[Nazarewicz] The situation of the intelligence service is just as complicated. It has been weakened by the decisions of your predecessor, who applied the "zero option," resulting in the dismissal of officers. At the same time, there are plans to separate intelligence from the UOP.

[Konieczny] I am rather against separating the intelligence service right now, because that service is just beginning to be efficient thanks to the work of counterintelligence. Therefore the activity of counterintelligence has provided a pedestal on which intelligence can establish a position for itself. Polish counterintelligence is acting under new conditions now, and the two services are inseparably linked. We should not consider separating intelligence from the UOP until we have created an efficient mechanism of protecting Polish interests, even outside our borders.

[Nazarewicz] How long does it take to establish new intelligence networks?

[Konieczny] Many years of intensive work. Yet the UOP is only two years old. Even our successes fail to make a proper echo.

[Nazarewicz] Last year, in the spring and autumn, UOP counterintelligence led to the discovery of two German military spies. One of them is already serving a seven-year sentence.

[Konieczny] The arrest of a spy is always a setback for counterintelligence. Ideally, a spy should be identified, and then re-recruited by the other side. Making a spy change his employer is a real success, but it did not work in these two cases.

Statistics Reveal Current State of Armed Forces

LD0509102492 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Excerpts] The Polish Armed Forces currently has 217,000 servicemen. Nearly one-half of the forces are ground forces. The Polish forces are stationed in four districts: Pomeranian, Silesian, Krakow, and Warsaw. The western districts have the largest numbers of men and the best weapons. The commanders are currently striving for uniform stationing of the forces.

Most of the military equipment available to our forces is unsuitable for operations on a modern battlefield. Only about 30 percent of the equipment is of the latest generation. Nearly one-half of the naval ships' artillery

should have been scrapped long ago. More than 1,000 T-55 tanks should be withdrawn because they are obsolete. Of the 450 combat aircraft, only one-quarter would be able to compete against Western machines.

This year Poland is going to spend $1.7 billion on weaponry. Smaller Norway will spend $4 billion, while Great Britain will spend $44 billion.

There are currently 82 generals and more than 3,000 colonels. A formalistic and mechanical application of the Senate vetting procedure would mean immediate dismissal of nearly all the generals and colonels. [passage omitted]

By the year 2000 our army will have 250,000 servicemen, including 150 generals.

Tankers for Yugoslavia Turned Away at Border

AU0709123092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0941 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1992—Twelve large-capacity Mercedes tankers, driven by Yugoslav citizens, filled with gasoline at Gyor, a Hungarian locality at the border with Austria, reached the Romanian frontier checkpoint of Nadlac, on September 1, at night. Yugoslavia was the transport destination country, according to the international transport documents, that had been filled in only partially. The Romanian customs bodies did not allow the transport to enter Romania, as it was considered a clear case of infringement of the embargo imposed to Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council, writes the daily "ADEVARUL" in its Monday, September 7, issue.

The twelve tankers returned to Hungary. Two days later, they came back to Nadlac checkpoint, driven by the same people. The transport documents had been modified, and it was Macedonia's capital, Skopje, that was filled in as destination. Neither this time were the tankers allowed to transit Romania heading for Serbia, the data got at their first attempt to enter Romania supporting the idea that this could be a case of infringement of the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia.

Romania was chosen for transit as Hungary has no frontier with Yugoslavia, as Slovenia lies in between the two countries. That is a flagrant case of infringement of the UN embargo on Yugoslavia, and it is substantiated by clear data: The tankers were filled in Hungary, the transport documents mentioning Yugoslavia as destination country were issued in Hungary and modified equally there, the tankers had passed a Hungarian checkpoint, mentions the said daily.

That is an intriguing fact, the more so as Hungary takes all occasions to strongly support in international meetings that strict measures are necessary to observe the sanctions on Yugoslavia and also accuses others not to respect them, opines "ADEVARUL."

Iliescu, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Discuss Ties

AU0409194792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/9/1992—Romania's President Ion Iliescu had an interview at Cotroceni Palace on September 4 with visiting Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

After the interview, the Ukrainian minister expressed his satisfaction at the talks he had both with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and with President Ion Iliescu, and at the understandings they reached on the occasion, specifying that he came to Romania "for diversifying specific ways to strengthen the collaboration between the two countries." The head of the Ukrainian diplomacy also noticed that the Romanian-Ukrainian ties "develop on the basis of mutual respect, equality and sovereignty."

Romanian Foreign Minister Nastase attended the interview.

Nastase, Zlenko Meet Journalists

AU0409201392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1115 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/09/1992—The visit by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko—the first visit to Romania by a Ukrainian foreign minister—is part of the efforts towards the establishment of a juridical framework for the bilateral relations, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase told a press conference on Friday, September 3, in Bucharest. To this effect he mentioned the existence of a protocol between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries, of a commercial agreement as well as the signing in Bucharest of the consular convention and of the agreement for cultural, scientific and educational cooperation.

The Romanian foreign minister then spoke about the negotiations for the finalization of the political treaty between the two countries and about the fields allowing for cooperation. He informed about the mutual granting of scholarships, the opening of embassies and consulates in the two countries, the identification and marking of the graves of Romanian soldiers and citizens who died in Ukraine, the drawing of the Romanian and Ukrainian maritime spaces, the conclusion of agreements on the archives in the two countries as well as about exchanges of delegations between the Romanian minority of Ukraine and the Ukrainian minority of Romania.

Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase appreciated the visit by his Ukrainian counterpart as "particularly important," since it contributed to "the establishment and consolidation of good neighborliness relations and to the speeding up of economic projects of mutual interest."

Underscoring that the two countries had "not only contiguous borders but contiguous interests, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko opined that in order to overcome the problems and difficulties inherited from our common past it takes mutual understanding and reconciliation. He appreciated that his visit to Bucharest and the talks he had there had helped him "take important steps towards this new stage in the history of the ties between Ukraine and Romania."

Asked by the journalists to set forth Ukraine's position regarding the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, Anatoliy Zlenko pointed out that his country was watching "very attentively the consequences of the international dictate" but was "not answerable for the actions carried out by other states," meaning that in 1939 Ukraine did not exist as a state but was a part of the Soviet Union.

In turn Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase showed that the conclusions of the analysis made

together with his Ukrainian counterpart were that "this matter must be approached from a practical angle." "We considered that a discussion from the historical point of view should be postponed—he said—and we chose the alternative of developing mutual relations, including the economic and cultural ones."

Tokes Accepts, Rejects Talks With Iliescu

Comments on Iliescu Letter

AU0409192492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/9/1992—At a press conference in Timisoara where he is on hunger strike, Bishop Laszlo Tokes underlined with satisfaction the positive echoes of his gesture of protest.

In connection with the open letter President Ion Iliescu addressed him, which was in fact the reason for the press conference, Laszlo Tokes, said among other things: For me the letter is an honour as it would be for any other citizen to whom the president of the country addresses, but through it he indirectly honours the cause that made me be in this position. In a written form the president contradicts all the assertions contained in the statement I made when I started the hunger strike. This is in fact a contradiction between gesture and content.

Mr. Tokes also noted Mr. Iliescu's "obvious intention to transfer" his action from its moral sphere into the political one and pointed to the rectitude of his claims that "Mr. Iliescu does not want to take into consideration." "Whether my action turns into a street action, as Mr. Iliescu states, then it will be his fault and not mine," Bishop Tokes said in conclusion.

The press conference was attended by front-ranking members of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] like Geza Domokos and Vilmos Hatubanyi, who went to Timisoara to express their solidarity with the UDMR president of honour.

Accepts Dialogue

AU0609160592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1533 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/9/1992—Bishop Laszlo Tokes of Oradea who has been on hunger strike since September 2 in the Reformed Church of Timisoara states in an open letter to Romania's President Ion Iliescu, which was sent to the national news agency ROMPRES in the afternoon of September 6, that he accepts the proposal to have "an open dialogue in the shortest possible time" with the head of state.

Referring to the open letter Mr. Iliescu addressed him on September 3, Mr. Tokes assesses that it pleads once more for "the acuteness" of the points he gave in his survey at the beginning of his action.

By accepting the dialogue, Mr. Tokes considers that "any opportunity must be used to discuss about the moral state of the society we are living in". In consideration of the function and rights Mr. Iliescu has as a head of state, Mr. Tokes deems that "the president has the possibility to positively interfere in elucidating and actually solving the problems which are so painful for very, very many."

At the end of his letter Mr. Tokes shows: "considering the hunger strike I am undergoing and my physical condition which binds me to this locality and, because of what you said in your letter I cannot interrupt the strike, the place for the meeting you suggested for us would be the martyr town of Timisoara."

Reconsiders Offer

AU0709122492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] The news conference at the Reformed Church in Timisoara was opened at 1000 hours this morning by Bishop Laszlo Tokes' spokesman, who briefed the participants on the evolution of the health of the reformed bishop—now in the sixth day of his hunger strike—as well as the meetings, letters, and solidarity messages received at the headquarters of the Reformed Church in the past few days.

At 1130 hours, Mr. Laszlo Tokes himself appeared at the news conference. According to our correspondent Vasile Emanuil, the Oradea bishop emphasized the symbolic importance of the ecumenical service that will begin this evening at 1800 hours at the Reformed Church in Timisoara. The speaker said that the service will emphasize—aside from any other echoes and considerations—the brotherhood between the faiths and nationalities of Timisoara and will also serve as model for the whole country, as it did in December 1989.

Concerning his open letter to Romania's President Mr. Ion Iliescu, Bishop Laszlo Tokes said—quote: I deem it necessary to reconsider my decision of yesterday, since the fate of such a meeting depends on two elements, namely that it should take place without preconceived ideas and, second, that the dialogue should be correctly conducted by both sides, even though the one who extended the invitation—that is, the president—terms his guest as a diversionist. Can I still hope for a correct dialogue? The interview granted by the president to the BBC radio station last night at 2110 hours is at variance with the letter sent to me. It is scandalous that Romania's current president qualifies my attitude in the same way as the 1989 dictator did, namely as destabilizing. Therefore, I have reconsidered my decision concerning the president's invitation to dialogue—end of quote.

Referring to the letter extended to him by the Democratic Convention [CD], Bishop Laszlo Tokes said—quote: I realize that my action might be used as a pretext by the enemies of democracy to provoke nationalist, chauvinistic, and antidemocratic diversions. Ensuring a climate of social justice and arousing the awareness of

the masses can also be achieved through elections. However, morality should be above all interests. I am further considering the CD's appeal whether to end my hunger strike or not—end of quote.

After the news conference, Mr. Laszlo Tokes answered questions from many journalists.

Iliescu Notes Willingness To Meet With Tokes

AU0709180092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] At 1923 we received the following statement from the Presidential Press Bureau:

President Ion Iliescu observed that Bishop Laszlo Tokes had accepted the proposal for dialogue presented to him, a decision he reconsidered later. In spite of the bishop's vacillations and hesitations, Iliescu wishes to state that when the bishop indeed decides to meet with him, he is ready to receive him at Cotroceni Palace in order to examine seriously, openly, and on a factual basis all problems that he listed as reasons for his hunger strike.

Iliescu views the statement made by the bishop at the news conference today as encouraging, a statement in which he says that he realizes that his actions might be used as a pretext by enemies of democracy in order to support chauvinistic and antidemocratic diversions. As a matter of fact, this was one of the reasons that convinced President Iliescu to suggest a meeting, reads the statement.

CDR Issues Declaration on Tokes Hunger Strike

AU0609140992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] sent our editorial board the following declaration via fax:

Regarding the hunger strike started by the Reform Bishop of Oradea Laszlo Tokes, the CDR states that most of the ideas brought up to motivate this strike have been supported throughout the last two and a half years through various forms by all the truly democratic forces of the opposition, and they represent key points in the CDR program. However, these situations have not and cannot be resolved by the current leadership that is involved in producing them and bears responsibility for them. Only by instating democracy as a result of the 27 September elections will it be possible to discover the truth that has been hidden since the revolution and up to this very day.

Therefore, now, three weeks before this decisive crossroads for the future of all citizens of our country, we believe that the most important thing is to ensure an appropriate climate for the correct development of the electoral campaign and of the elections, and to prevent any pretext that might be used by the enemies of democracy to create diversion.

Therefore, the CDR, understanding and appreciating Bishop Laszlo Tokes' gesture, asks him to give up this action.

For conformity the declaration, on behalf of the CDR, is signed by Mr. Tudor Marian.

Supreme Court Rules Iliescu Can Run for Senate

AU0809122092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1004 GMT 8 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/9/1992—Tuesday morning, 8 September, the Supreme Court of Justice of Romania accepted the appeal lodged by the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) and the attorney general of Bucharest City against the contention by the Democratic Convention of Romania (CD) of Ion Iliescu's candidature, of no confessed political allegiance, for a Senate seat on the lists of the FDSN.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Justice is final, which enables Ion Iliescu to run for a senatorial position on a FDSN ticket.

Iliescu Sees 'Internal' Remedy for Society's Ills

AU0409194092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/9/1992—In an interview he granted to Romanian journalists at the end of his visit to Dolj County, Romania's President Ion Iliescu assessed that in December 1989 and in the months that followed Romania passed through the tensest moments and saw the toughest and most violent way of toppling the old system and state structures. A highly tense period followed that could have destabilized the state's political structures, with unforeseeable consequences. "I think it is worth mentioning that we succeeded in overcoming such tense conflictual moments and bringing a certain balance and calm in the country." He said after the 1990 elections certain political forces had sought to use force and take non-democratic action so as to turn over the state of affairs and change the political structures formed after elections. There were all kinds of pressure, and "now we are witnesses of Vicar Toke[illegible]st-minute diversion which, undoubtedly, is part o[illegible] political thinking. Therefore, all this has hind[illegible] collect our thoughts, to sit and ponder over [illegible]al life's stability, the economic problems and the building of new mechanisms for this transitional period."

In another sequence of ideas President Ion Iliescu underscored that after the 1989 revolution Romania was not isolated since it had "ample relations on all levels." "That there are certain debatable matters regarding options, sympathies or antipathies of some or others, this is something else." In his opinion, in international relations one should start from the elementary respect for each people's option and each country's domestic order.

Referring to accusations and labelings prompted by electoral interests, President Iliescu said: "The slogans of neo-communism, of 'nomenklatura,' and so forth are part and parcel of a shrewd psychological arsenal, that of intimidation and confusion. I think we all lived in Romania as it was, nobody lived under a glass bell so as to be sheltered from contamination. I do not know who can come with health certificates from this point of view. To bring people in from abroad to inoculate something new into Romanian society is not an appropriate remedy. They can never understand the internal mechanisms of Romanian society. Our society must be renewed with the people we have, with the people who have learned what is both right and wrong, who have molded over this period with its lights and shades."

Striking Journalists Accused of 'Political Sabotage'

AU0809121792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0938 GMT 8 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/9/1992—Seven of the fourteen writers of the daily DREPTATEA, the press organ of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD), as well as the photographer of the said daily have refused to work under the leadership of the current editor in chief, Mariana Sipos, whom they accuse of a "Stakhanov-like attitude." The director of the said daily, who is also the director of the election campaign of the Democratic Convention—the main opposition alliance—said that the eight protesters are young people who have worked for a short time for DREPTATEA and their action "looks like a political blackmail," it is a "political sabotage serving the present regime in the heat of the electoral struggle," and "it has been staged by methods specific to certain services." The said daily asks the colleagues from the "democratic press" to support its publication, and readers to buy it, as "the distribution of DREPTATEA has been sabotaged."

PNL Leader Discusses Issue of 'Nationalism'

AU0809073792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/9/1992—In an extensive interview the daily CURIERUL NATIONAL publishes in its Monday [7 September] issue, National Liberal Party [PNL] Leader Radu Campeanu defines his attitude toward nationalism as follows:

When we speak about the national being we also speak about the interests of the nation, its rights and, more particularly, about the respect we should pay to it as it is. To safeguard all these values—material and spiritual—of the people to whom I belong means, in my opinion, to defend the national being. If love for such values means nationalism, if the wish for their observance as such and by foreigners can be seen as nationalism then I also can be called a nationalist. Still, nationalism commonly means something else, it means opposition between "Romanianism" and what is outside it, an exclusion of all the others and, sometimes, even hostility against others, which may lead to aggression. I reject such a nationalism because I fully dislike it. In this sense I do not consider myself and I am not at all a nationalist. In my opinion, the Romanian people are nationalistic in what the word means best, that is it conserves and defends its moral and material values. We are not intolerant. Certainly, there is an aggressive and intolerant minority, but it does not specifically define our people.

Reportage, Comments on Downed UN Relief Plane

Witnesses Say Plane Hit by Rockets

AU0409162692 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 4 (AFP)—An Italian relief plane that crashed en route to Sarajevo on Thursday [3 September] was shot down by rockets, witnesses told investigators at the scene Friday.

U.N. investigators probing the heavily wooded site of the wreckage 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of here said witnesses told them they saw rockets fired at the plane seconds before it crashed.

They said preliminary investigation of the wreckage scattered over a wide area indicated the aircraft disintegrated before it hit the ground.

There was no immediate speculation on which side in the conflict may have fired on the plane.

"The only thing that we are sure of is that the (crash) zone is under Croatian or Muslim control," UNPROFOR spokesman Shanon Boyd said in Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

The charred and dismembered bodies of the four Italian servicemen on board the plane were recovered from the wreckage by French members of the U.N. peacekeeping force, the U.N. sources here said.

The plane, part of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) humanitarian airlift, was flying to Sarajevo from the Adriatic coastal town of Split with a load of blankets when it went down. [passage omitted]

A spokesman for UNPROFOR said radio contact with the plane was lost at 1:17 p.m. (1117 GMT), eight minutes before its scheduled arrival time, although no distress call was received by air traffic controllers here.

Meanwhile all flights involved in the humanitarian airlift into the besieged Bosnian capital were suspended indefinitely, raising fears among residents of an aid cutoff ahead of the bitter winter months.

"Officially, the airport remains open, but all the participating countries have suspended their flights pending the outcome of the investigation into the cause of the crash," said a spokeswoman for the UNHCR.

Artillery blasts and heavy machinegun fire meanwhile escalated sharply Friday in the southwestern sector of the capital around the suburb of Ilija, where Serbian and Bosnian strongholds are in close proximity.

Sniper fire and the rattle of heavy machine guns increased in intensity throughout the day, and plumes of gray smoke were seen rising from the hills.

The plane crashed during a one-day visit here by Marrack Goulding, U.N. under secretary general for peacekeeping operations.

The exchanges followed a day of relative calm Thursday during the visit by Goulding, who had little comment as he left the city after meeting with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

Italian Minister: Attack 'Most Probable'

AU0409160792 Rome ANSA in English 1544 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, September 4—There are factors pointing strongly in the direction of an attack on the Italian Air Force G- 222 transport plane which crashed yesterday afternoon in Bosnia, while flying a United Nations relief mission, said Foreign Trade Minister Claudio Vitalone here as reports arrived from Sarajevo that the bodies of the four members of the crew had been recovered.

Vitalone told reporters that there were indications that the plane, carrying a cargo of five tons of bedding, had been downed during its flight from the port city of Split to Sarajevo through the air corridor established by the UN with the agreement of all sides involved in the hostilities.

"I really think, with the state of the news we have acquired, that this is a matter of aggression," said the minister. "Factors in our possession point decisively towards this judgment. A criminal act against a crew committed to a humanitarian operation and without any offensive instrument," he added.

Going into more detail, Vitalone referred to, "factors, traces, that lead to the supposition of a missile-type attack."

He also noted that, "we are paying a high price in Bosnia, in terms of lives contributed, to the work the United Nations is carrying out to bring relief to the civilian population hit by war and the absurd violence.

"Italy will continue to honor the commitments it took on in the international context, in UN quarters, and naturally, we have the right and the duty to demand the application of all those conditions bearing on safeguarding the crews and personnel involved in these humanitarian operations from all forms of violence," he declared.

Defense Minister Salvo Ando disclosed, "we have reports of traces and holes in the wreckage but we have no precise confirmation from our representatives" or official word from UN forces.

Addressing a press conference, the defense chief declared, "there are rumors, eye-witnesses, opinions,

views which lead us to consider most probable that the plane was downed, a criminal act against the Italian G-222."

Ando confirmed that the bodies of three of the four crew members were recovered overnight and the fourth today and that the bodies will be brought to Sarajevo by an Italian Air Force helicopter.

After reiterated the point that, "the most likely hypothesis is that the plane was downed," the minister insisted that the G-222, unlike the Hercules C-130 transport plane also deployed for humanitarian missions by the Air Force, is a distinctive craft and easily identified.

He said, "in light of recent facts, a different light is cast" on the case of a (?transport) aircraft, which resembles the G-222, recently intercepted by a Serbian air force [word indistinct] and identified.

Referring to reports that U.S. rescue helicopters attempting to reach the crash site had been fired on overnight, the minister said he could not confirm an account of a French military vehicle which came under fire while moving into "the scene of the crime."

"This morning, U.S. helicopters returned to the disaster area, but under F-14 fighter plane escort," he added.

This area, he reported, is mountainous with peaks of up to 5,000 feet. The G-222 was flying at 10,000 feet which, he said, makes a missile attack feasible. The wreckage was found in three parts.

At present, the minister concluded, "we are attempting to guarantee security for our helicopters to get them to Sarajevo for the recovery of the bodies. Initially, security for the mission was assured. Now they are dealing [as received]."

According to another member of the cabinet, Carmelo Conte, the minister for urban areas, "the Italian plane was certainly downed. The reports on the cause are varied," he told reporters. "There is also the idea of a missile," he added.

Arriving here was a report from Sarajevo that a French search and rescue team had reached the crash site, 34 kilometers from the battered Bosnian capital in the morning and discovered the burned bodies of the crew members.

A source with the UN peacekeeping force in the capital said the G-222 transport plane, built in Italy, disappeared off radar screens at 1317 yesterday afternoon, eight minutes before it was scheduled to land in Sarajevo, and that air traffic controllers had received no distress signals from the crew.

In Zagreb, the spokesman for the UN High Commission for Refugees, Peter Kessler, reported, "the wreckage of the aircraft is scattered in a radius of about 1.5 kilometers, which indicates that there was an explosion before the plane hit the ground."

Kessler, who said he was speaking on the basis of information gathered by search teams at the site, added: "It is not totally clear whether the craft was downed." He also said humanitarian flights to Sarajevo will remain suspended until the cause of the crash and loss of life is explained.

The spokesman reported that overnight, the crews of four U.S. helicopters attempting to reach the wreckage, near the village of Jesenic, suspended their search when their craft came under volleys of small arms fire.

In Rome, it was learned at the Defense Ministry that Air Force General Luciano Battisti, a member of the Air Force Chiefs of Staff, had arrived in Split and, accompanied by Colonel Luciano Massetti, was preparing to travel to the crash site to lead Italy's investigation into the disaster.

The Italian Air Force began July 3 running four [word indistinct] flights daily from Split and Zagreb to Sarajevo with two G-222s from the 46th Air Brigade based in Pisa. The planes always fly courses which take them through the air corridors authorized by the UN and the sides waging war in Bosnia.

At the time of the crash yesterday, these planes had flown a total of 130 missions and clocked up 400 hours flight time to bring to the beleaguered capital 1,700 tons of relief items.

Surface-to-Air Missile Suspected

LD0609130392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, September 6 (TANJUG)—The Italian cargo G-222 plane which crashed near Sarajevo on Thursday [3 September] was most probably downed by a surface-to-air man-portable missile—a United Nations (UN) official who wished to remain anonymous said in Sarajevo on Sunday.

The plane was carrying humanitarian aid and crashed some 40 km east of Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in territory controlled by Muslim- Croatian forces.

Tha UN official specified that an Italian team of experts who investigated the site of the crash on Saturday found evidence that the plane was hit by a missile, after which it exploded and fell to the ground, FRANCE-PRESS said.

The Italian investigation team head said that a missile evidently hit one of the plane's engines which was found several kilometers away from the site where the other parts of the craft were found, the UN official said.

For over five months clashes have been under way in Bosnia-Hercegovina between forces of local Serbs (who account for 31 percent of the population), on one side, and forces of local Muslims (44 percent) and Croatians

(17 percent) helped by the army of neighbouring Croatia, another breakaway republic, on the other.

The Italian experts, the UN representative said, are convinced that the plane was hit either by a Stinger missile of American make or a Strela missile, which is the Yugoslav version of the Soviet SAM 7 missile.

Both Stingers and Strelas are infra-red surface-to-air missiles, guided by the heat of the engine, and are fired from man-portable launchers.

The former Yugoslav Army did not have any Stingers and neither do the Bosnian Serbs. British military experts claim that the Croatian Armed Forces have had Stingers since a year ago.

TIMES reporter Rodger Boys recently quoted a statement by Mayor of Konjic, a town in whose vicinity the plane was downed, that 80 truckloads of ammunition and anti-aircraft missiles from Middle East countries had arrived for the Muslim fighters from the Croatian port cities of Rijeka and Split in the past two weeks.

Both sides have Strela missiles.

'Sources' Cite 'Experts'

LD0409183892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] London, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—An Italian G-222 plane, which crashed on Thursday [3 September] near Jasenik on its flight from Split to Sarajevo, must have been shot down with a heat-guided missile, as was asserted (?by) experts close to the British Defence Ministry on Friday. Military sources in London said U.N. experts, after their on-site investigation, had asserted that a Stinger missile downed the plane.

Serbs in Bosnia who only have arms left to them by the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), do not have Stinger missiles just as the JNA had never had this type missiles. British military experts say the Croatian Armed Forces have for one year had Stinger missiles.

The Italian plane was shot down above an area controlled by Croat and Muslim units, U.N. liaison officers' intelligence reports said.

THE TIMES reporter Roger Boys has recently monitored a statement by Konjic Mayor Rusmir Hadzihusenovic saying that in the past two weeks the Muslim [word indistinct] received at least 80 truckloads of munitions, including anti-aircraft missiles from Middle Eastern countries, from the Adriatic ports of Rijeka and Split.

Western correspondents from Zagreb have these days been sending out reports saying that groups of mujahedin, members of the fanatic Vahabi sect, had arrived in Konjic and Zenica. It was in Afghanistan where they became well-experienced in handling Stinger missiles.

UN Convoy Hit by Mortars in Sarajevo

LD0609213192 Hamburg DPA in German 2058 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo/Zagreb (DPA)—A convoy of UN trucks carrying aid supplies was mortared this evening in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo. The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Zagreb announced that a truck was hit and destroyed. No one was injured in the attack. This attack, which came from positions not yet identified, is a further serious attack against the efforts of the international community to help the suffering Bosnian people, it was said.

According to the UNHCR, snipers fired repeatedly at UN personnel during the afternoon as they distributed food to the local people in Sarajevo.

The convoy with aid for the people of Sarajevo had arrived only a short time before the incident, after an arduous journey from the Croatian port of Split through the Bosnian mountains. Following the temporary suspension of the airlift after an Italian aircraft crashed, convoys of trucks are at present the only means of carrying supplies to the town, which is besieged by Serbian troops.

UNPROFOR 'Forced' From Serb Positions

LD0709190992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives today were forced to abandon "some of the (Bosnian) Serb Army positions in Sarajevo where they were stationed as observers," SRNA has reported. According to the agency, the UNPROFOR representatives withdrew from the Serb-held positions because of heavy attacks by Muslim forces. Two UNPROFOR vehicles were destroyed in the attacks.

The agency does not specify the positions from which the UNPROFOR representatives had to withdraw or when the two vehicles belonging to the peace forces were destroyed.

TANJUG Reports on Sarajevo, 'Stinger' Attack

LD0409220692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2059 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, September 4 (TANJUG)—On Friday [4 September] it was calm only in the centre of Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Sarajevo township of Ilidza, held by the Bosnian Serbs, was the target of artillery attacks several times during the day. Shells came from the nearby Mount Igmam which is held by the Bosnian Muslim forces. The Muslim forces were not particular about the target of their shelling with the result that scores of shells hit housing blocks in the centre of Ilidza.

As yet no report has arrived on possible casualties. The clashes died down in the evening.

For the last five months fierce armed clashes have been fought in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina between the local Serbs (31 per cent of the population) on one side and joint Croat (17 per cent) and Muslim (44 per cent) forces on the other side.

An infantry attack was launched on Friday against the Sarajevo township of Nedzarici which the local Serbs have been defending for the last five months.

In the attack Muslim formations used "Stinger" missile launchers, inflamable and chemical weapons, but the front line remained unchanged even after several hours of heavy fighting.

Fighting Continues, Chemical Agents Reportedly Used

AU0809104792

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 8 September carries its regular 17-minute newscast which includes several reports on fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Duska Rakonjac, a correspondent in the Sarajevo Security Services Center, says that "at the moment, the aggressor is occasionally shelling the outskirts of the Stari Grad Commune" and that "snipers are active at the crossroads in the city center and in Novo Sarajevo this morning with their activity being particularly intensive at the Pero Kosoric Square. Antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns are firing from the Rajlovac Barracks at Sokolje and Brijesce. During last night, the outskirts of the Stari Grad Commune were shelled and the aggressor's antiaircraft machine gun was occasionally heard." Further on, Rakonjac says that "last night, the aggressor shelled Alipasino Polje and Svrakino Selo. Shells occasionally fell on Dobrinja Three and Dobrinja Five as well.

In her report from Novo Sarajevo, Enisa Vojovic-Hadzihasanovic says that "yesterday the aggressor intensively shelled the Hrasno Brdo region, using chemical agents in the region of Zagorska Street after which he attempted at infantry breakthrough several times. These attacks were successfully rejected."

Reporting from Vogosca, Rade Trbojevic says that "this new day has started with new attacks in the same way and with the same intensity and strength" and the first shells have been directed toward the town. Finally, he adds that "strong and frequent infantry shots are again heard from the direction of Ugorsko."

The studio announcer says that the "aggressor's aircraft were noticed taking off from the Banja Luka airfield at 0825. One group of aircraft was noticed in the Tuzla region and another in the Banja Luka region."

Salih Brkic, a correspondent in Tuzla, says that "while the situation at most battlefields in the Tuzla region is considerably calmer than in the last 10 days, battles around Gradacac, where the bandits carried out attacks from the air four times yesterday, are increasingly fiercer, one can even deem them the most difficult since the beginning of the war in this region. The chetnik artillery and tanks yesterday continued destroying all that has managed to remain unharmed in this ancient town and the surrounding settlements. Aircraft with a rich arsenal of cluster bombs and missiles were used four times as well." Further on, Brkic says that "yesterday chetniks launched 30 projectiles at Lukavica and 20 more projectiles at the Gracanica defense line from artillery and mortars." Brkic asks "under whose control should one put the rich arsenal of all kinds of heavy weaponry that the bandits are keeping from Pelagicevo and Obudovac to Majevica and other chetnik strongholds in this part of Bosnia?" Finally, Brkic says that an "air alert was sounded in Tuzla at 0840 this morning because two enemy aircraft were spotted above this region."

The studio announcer says that the "hygienic and epidemiologic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is aggravating. Due to shortage of electricity and water, the number of contagious gastrointestinal diseases is increasing. According to a report by the Republican Health Headquarters of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1,765 cases of enterocolitis have been registered in Sarajevo."

Karadzic Views 12 Sep Deadline, Escalation of War

AU0709200092 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in a television studio in Pale by news announcer Zoran Jevdjovic in the Belgrade RTB Television studio—live]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Karadzic, can you hear us?

[Karadzic] Yes, I can.

[Jevdjovic] We are interested in several issues tonight. All international media are reporting that the request by Mr. Owen, new cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, and Mr. Vance is virtually an ultimatum to the Serbs to place all heavy arms under control by 12 September. Is this so, and what is your view of it, considering that, as far as I know, it was not an agreement on control that was signed, but rather an agreement on the supervision of these heavy weapons?

[Karadzic] I do not consider this to be an ultimatum but rather the establishment of the deadline, since we did not know when the countdown of 96 hours for providing a list of heavy weapons around four towns was supposed to start, or when the countdown of seven days for placing these arms under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] supervision was supposed to begin. We are not talking

about the control of weapons, but about supervision, which we need. We proposed that, and this was recorded in the conference documents.

It is very important to us that there be an impartial witness and observer who will testify as to whether Serbs are opening fire first and whether they are hitting civilian targets.

[Jevdjovic] The second question: We heard the latest news and TANJUG reports from London that the concessions made by the Serbs so far with regard to the London conference are interpreted differently by different analysts, above all that the Serbs have not received anything in return for making these concessions. There are even views that because of that, they have found themselves in a more difficult situation militarily in Bosnia-Hercegovina. How true is this?

[Karadzic] There is some truth in it. We have found ourselves in some military difficulties because we made some gestures for the benefit of the London conference. We expected that the other side will make similar gestures. Instead, it attacked our civilians, massacred people, and carried out ethnic cleansing of the worst type. It expelled people through the use of knives and firearms and burned their villages.

The international community must understand that the Serbs cannot make concessions that will lead to their own destruction. We have done much for the London conference to succeed. We will continue to do that in the future, but the Croat and Muslim sides cannot remain outside the objective supervision of the international community. If this happens, the Serbs will re-establish defense lines, and protect themselves and their people. We think that we have done enough. The other side has taken advantage of our behavior.

[Jevdjovic] One more question. It has been reported that the Croatian and Muslims sides are receiving increasingly greater supplies of weapons via Split. What kind of danger does this pose, and is the Serbian Republic aware of this fact?

[Karadzic] The danger is great. The Muslim forces have received an enormous amount of heavy weapons. They have received missiles [raketa]; they received mortar shells. We have captured some of these weapons. It is clear that they are of Arab origin. The origin of some bombs cannot be identified and obviously has been concealed.

The Croatian forces also have received help, primarily from Germany. They even have received the Leopard tanks we are seeing on the battlefields. The danger is great, but the fact is that we are conducting a defensive war, that we are on our borders, the borders of our territories, and that we will succeed in defending them. The international community must be aware that the war will escalate, however, and if the predictions are correct that Croatia will soon attack Krajina and in doing so expel UNPROFOR, then this poses a danger of the war spreading throughout the Balkans and the rest of Europe, if not further.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. Karadzic, for kindly agreeing to be the guest of Serbian radio and television news tonight.

Izetbegovic Sends Letter to Conference Participants

LD0409222592 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, today sent a letter to the presidents of all delegations that participated in the London conference. He informs them about the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

President Izetbegovic cited all the provisions adopted at the London conference and stressed the need for their urgent fulfillment and implementation. Unfortunately, the aggressor does not think that these provisions must be immediately implemented and is continuing to shell and kill civilians. Artillery shelling continues after the conference, and during the last attacks the buildings of the National Library and the National Archive in Sarajevo were hit. Fierce attacks continue throughout the republic, President Izetbegovic writes in his letter.

Because of this and the fact that winter is approaching, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has decided not to participate in the negotiations if the Serb Army continues to disregard the provisions and the spirit of the London conference. This is why the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina urgently demands—in any event before the next UN General Assembly session—a new date for the EC- and UN-sponsored negotiations at which the implications of the London conference would be assessed.

If the enemy attacks continue, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina will choose the option of self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, and it will demand the UN General Assembly lift the arms embargo from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Our government demonstrated its good will for diplomatic efforts displayed in London and at previous EC-sponsored negotiations. However, we realize that we are approaching the point at which diplomatic means cannot offer any hope for the survival of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the letter states in conclusion.

Croat, Muslim Agreement on Political Future Viewed

LD0809004492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text of agreement between the Party of Democratic Action, SDA; and the Croatian Democratic Community, HDZ; signed on 27 August in Medjugorje]

[Text] The preamble to the document states that it facilitates the implementation of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina signed by Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman. The conclusions were adopted and proposed to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency following a thorough analysis of the agreement.

The first point states that the constitutional and political organization of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be based on constituent units, taking into account natural, historical, ethnic, economic, demographic, transport, and other principles. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency is advised to form four constituent units.

Bosnia-Hercegovina press has learned that the map spotted at the press conference is only one of the drafts and that there probably will be more of them. The first point envisages a constituent unit comprising a number of regions.

In its second point the joint commission suggests that legislative powers at the republic level be exercised by a wartime presidency while executive powers should be applied by a wartime government. According to this point, a wartime government should be constituted on a proportional basis, including representatives of winning parties, that is those of the HDZ and SDA. The Presidency and government would decide on foreign affairs, defense, internal policies, general and economic policies, economic relations, as well as all pressing issues relating to two or more constituent units such as transport, power supplies, postal services, water works, etc. A unified armed force should be formed at republican level including members of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnian Army under a joint commanding body set up on a proportional basis, it is stated in this document.

By the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency's ruling, the legislative body of the assembly of a constituent unit would comprise the presidents of municipal wartime presidencies until a new democratic election. Executive powers in constituent units should be organized on a proportional basis in line with the election results achieved by the representatives of the winning parties. The assembly and government of a constituent unit should exercise its powers in the following areas: land registers, urban development and housing affairs, [word indistinct] of property and ecology, health services and social care, the monitoring of charity institutions, education, science, culture, sport and recreation, preservation of historical heritage, policing and the security of citizens, trade and tourism, agriculture and forestry, hunting and fishing, anti-fire prevention and protection of national resources, transport within the constituent unit, pipelines, water works, mining, power generation, management of water supplies, judiciary and general administration. The legislative bodies of constituent units will define, through their legislation, the number of their regions and their authority, it is stated in the third point made at this meeting.

According to the fourth point, legislative powers in municipalities are vested with legally elected assemblies or wartime presidencies elected by these assemblies. In those municipalities where legally elected legislative authorities have been suspended or collapsed and replaced by temporary civilian authorities, new civilian authorities in the form of an assembly or wartime presidency will be restored, conditions permitting. Municipalities whose conditions are complex wartime presidencies, which will appoint their executive organs, will be formed by inter-party agreements as their territories are liberated.

The fifth point suggest that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency will, following [word indistinct] consultations, embark on the implementation of these conclusions by passing rulings and legislative acts.

The agreements are signed by Ismet Hadziosmanovic, Muhamet Pero, and Candro Salahovic on behalf of the SDA and Miljenko Brkic, Mario [word indistinct], Ivan Martosic, and Zdenko Cosic on behalf on the HDZ.

Croats Define 'State Duties,' Elect Officials

LD0609215692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] A session of the Presidium Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Heregovina, which was interrupted last night, resumed in Medjugorje today. However, Mate Boban, vice president of this organization and president of the community of Herceg-Bosnia, was absent. Miljenko Brkic, acting president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ, has told us that Mate Boban was invited to the meeting, but according to some reports Boban did not know about the Presidency session.

At the session, support was given for the combat actions of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], but it was also stressed that the time is not appropriate for the HVO to take over state duties. According to our reporter Miljenko Karacic, some aspects of the state have begun to function, including the government. The Presidency also set in motion preparations for a convention of the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ which is expected to endorse a proposal that in future the HDZ should consist of five political organizations, or rather Croatian communities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to be called Herceg-Bosnia, Usora, Vrh Bosna, Posavina, and Srednja Bosnia.

The HDZ Presidency also endorsed a list of candidates for consular and ambassadorial posts and at the same time nominated Marinko Pejic, currently teaching defense at the Sarajevo Academy of Pedagogy, as minister for defense in the republic's government.

The Presidency also took advantage of a statutory option applicable in a war situation to adopt a new statute under which the Presidency will also include the HDZ members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, officials of the republic's assembly, and also representatives

of the HDZ youth organization. Miljenko Brkic, acting president of the HDZ, has been confirmed as president. Vjekoslav Barac is the new vice president of the HDZ. Zdenko Cosic was elected president of the HDZ executive board.

Serbian Involvement in Bosnian Krajina Detailed

92BA1356B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 92 pp 22-23

[Unattributed article: "The Camps: Death With No Rules"]

[Text] Several readers have contacted the editors concerning last week's article about the camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] ("Everyone to His Own Camp," VREME No. 94), mainly offering additional information about the prisons and camps. VREME has already published some of this testimony in earlier issues ("Doboj," "Teslic"). There is no exaggeration in the assertion that some entire settlements were turned into camps in that the population was compelled to remain in them and at the same time they were limited in their movement and opportunity to communicate, to work, and so on. This time the topic is the situation in the area of Bosanska Krajina, or, more accurately, the vicinity of Banjaluka.

The camp at Manjaca is already well-known; there is new information about Bosanski Novi, where civilians, mostly women and children, were confined. The mistreatment of the prisoners is the usual; everyone's head was shaved—even the women.

Serbian armies and paramilitary armies gathered up the civilian population from places around Bosanski Novi, took them in buses in the direction of the camps, along the way venting their emotions at the expense of the "prisoners"; recently, only five of 50 inhabitants of a village in the immediate vicinity of Bosanski Novi reached the camp alive. The others were murdered and massacred along the way.

The Muslim and Croatian inhabitants were mistreated in Banjaluka. At Kozarac near Prijedor all the houses were set on fire—along with people, whose burned bodies lie everywhere along the road. The Muslims and Croats fled illegally from Prijedor provided they paid 10,000 marks to one of the Serbs there. The "true" Serbs punished the Serbs caught helping the Muslims and Croats in the same manner, imprisoning them in the same camps. The pastry shops and all other private shops belonging to Muslims in Banjaluka were mainly blown up. Those that were not are not operating, because the owners are under constant threat. Muslims and Croats have been removed from all important positions in the army of the "Serbian Republic of B-H."

People were removed or killed for saying the wrong thing. The Serbian authorities were brutal in their treatment of disloyal Serbs. The curfew was at 2100 hours, mainly there is no electricity the entire day, the threat of war has been proclaimed, and all male Serbs up to age 65 have been mobilized. The mobilized males from the area of Banjaluka Opstina are fighting around Doboj and Odzak and "cleansing" the terrain, which means getting rid of all the Muslims and other non-Serbs in nearby places.

Along the road from Banjaluka to Belgrade one passes through a great number of checkpoints, mainly paramilitary; most important are the first and last name on the personal identity card, and the usual question is: "Are there any Turks?" If a Muslim is found, that is the end of his trip: They take him from the vehicle and execute him in short order.

Certain settlements with a majority Muslim population in the vicinity of Banjaluka—in the direction of Prijedor, Derventa, and Doboj—no longer exist except on the map.

Military communications are very lively between Banjaluka and Belgrade. Every weekend, trucks arrive carrying Banjaluka reservists, and they transport weapons from the garrisons of FR [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia. They paste paper over license plates with Banjaluka registration when they enter the Belgrade garrisons to conceal where they are from. They take weapons from Bubanj Potok and the Cavalry School in Zemun.

They stay in Belgrade two days. They have false invoices for the ammunition.

The entire operation is organized through the command of the Banjaluka Garrison, which also receives armament with the help of the Serbian forces in Pale.

One recent delivery of ammunition and weapons to Banjaluka weighed 1,000 metric tons.

Details on 'Metamorphosis,' Camps in Bosnia

92BA1356A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 92 pp 22-24

[Article by Miroslav Dedic and team of VREME investigators: "The Imprint of Shame"]

[Text] The tale about Omarska is the classic tale of metamorphosis from the gentleness of peacetime to the fury of wartime. This town at the foot of Mount Kozara, which all of a sudden received worldwide "fame" in the media, is located between Prijedor and Banjaluka and is populated almost 100 percent by Serbs (it is one of the largest Serbian local communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]).

Before the madness of war, the local people in this little town were workers and farmers (they had jobs both in Prijedor and Banjaluka on the one hand, as well as in Zagreb, which is barely 150 km away), but when the madness began, whether they wanted to or not, they became fighters.

Certain facts have to be set forth if one is to gain any understanding of things (assuming it is possible to understand anything in this madhouse).

Preparation for War

In the last population census, Prijedor Opstina (to which the Omarska MZ [Local Community] belongs) had a few Croats and an equal number of Muslims and Serbs, but unlike the now typical and so often mentioned Bosnian blending ("house to house"), the constituent local communities were at the same time ethnically pure Serbian or Muslim enclaves. Even the town itself had "pure" sections (Urije, Center—Serbs; Puharska, Old Town—Muslims). That fact would prove to be one of the decisive ones in the combat operations that were to come.

Immediately before the election, Ante Markovic established the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] in the Kozara area, and the effect of this would be that that party would get a sizable number of "Serbian" votes in the actual election in Prijedor, and the direct consequence of that in turn was that Izetbegovic's Democratic Action Party [SDA] would gain a minimal electoral superiority in the Assembly of Prijedor Opstina. This was a severe blow to the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] leadership, because in that way Prijedor became the only opstina in Bosanska Krajina in which the SDS did not have even a token majority, and that would be a big problem in attempts to co-opt this opstina into one of Karadzic's first creations: the so-called Autonomous Region Bosanska Krajina. The next important factor (important to the tragic train of events) is the flare-up of war in Croatia last summer. General Uzelac, at that time commander of the Banjaluka Corps, in the manner of a free-wheeling general proclaimed general mobilization in September 1991 in the area where his corps was operating (Bosanska Krajina). The Krajina Serbs, who have Partizan blood in their veins, responded en masse to the call to "fight the Ustashi," and, crossing the Sava, entered the slaughterhouse of war in western Slavonia. Meanwhile, problems were arising in Prijedor: Thanks to the electoral majority in the opstina structures, the SDA was sabotaging the mobilization by hiding the mobilization notices (which were still being certified in opstina national defense secretariats), and that gave both Muslims and also peaceful Serbs the opportunity of "staying at peace" altogether legally.

SDS committees then came on the scene (the committee in Omarska particularly distinguished itself in this respect) and circulated internal draft notices from local communities, and thus almost everyone among the Serbs who could move (there were even women!) went off to join the "volunteers."

There was only token response of Muslims to the mobilization, which, given the relative ethnic purity of certain parts of the opstina we have already mentioned, is another important factor that would be decisive in the battles for Prijedor. Quite enough time passed before replacement of Uzelac as corps commander and the arrival of the now late General Vukovic to replace him (he managed to make some kind of order between the army and the stale reservists) for immense quantities of weapons and ammunition to flow illegally and semilegally from the Slavonian battlefield to the Krajina. Thus, the militarization of this region, which had begun even earlier, assumed incredible proportions. When the first units of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] began to deploy in Croatia, and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] began to withdraw from it, one of the new places where it "settled" would be the area of Prijedor Valley. When the arms race between the Serbs and Muslims was over, the result was an immense superiority on the Serbian side.

A Military Putsch

The operations in Sarajevo and Hercegovina had gone on for a good month before the first skirmishes occurred in Prijedor. Having learned from the bad experiences with garrisons being surrounded and the losses it suffered in urban skirmishes and evacuations both in Croatia and also in Bosnia, the "army" (still the JNA) in Prijedor carried out a lightning "precautionary action": After first suspending telephone service (this bit of business with the telephones would later recur on several occasions, so the "public would not get unnecessarily agitated"), in one night, without firing a single round, it occupied all the important parts of the city and institutions in it, it declared a curfew, and it stationed snipersentries in all the tall buildings. The army, it hardly needs mentioning, consists almost exclusively of Serbs. Leaders of the SDS were overnight installed in all the important offices in the opstina. In short, a putsch was carried out.

Regardless of the obvious superiority of one side over the other and regardless of the "agreements" which were made about a "fair" division of the opstina into Serbian and Muslim sections (there was no doubt which side was dictating the terms), it was becoming clearer and clearer that a conflict was inevitable. It was just a matter of waiting for the spark that would ignite the intolerable suspense that smelled of gunpowder. And it came: Two soldiers were killed in Hambarine, a Muslim village near Prijedor. The army demanded that the murderers be delivered, and when the demand was not met, Hambarine was reduced to dust and ashes. After Hambarine, the avalanche rolled on unrestrainedly: Demands were delivered to one Muslim village after another that they turn over their weapons and express loyalty to the newly proclaimed state (Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) and to its army (the period when the JNA was "withdrawing" from Bosnia). Certain local communities met the demand (that was the case of the small Muslim town Kevljani, in which not a single round was fired), but that did not save them: Even such places were plundered and set on fire. The fiercest battles were waged around Kozarac, the largest Muslim town in the opstina, which the Serbs captured with minimal losses, but nothing was left standing. One also needs to look in

the past for the reason for some of the surplus brutality displayed in "liberating" Kozarac. In the last war, the Muslims from Kozarac were loyal to the Independent State of Croatia [NDH], and in that town in 1941 more than 500 local Serbs fit for the army were slaughtered.

The epilogue of the combat operations in Prijedor Opstina is terrible: Hardly any Muslim town has been left intact. In the course of the actual fighting, a large number, mainly women and children, fled to central Bosnia and Croatia, and most of the men, who by and large never became involved in the war at all, nor did they have weapons, were "captured." And here begins the tale about the "camps."

The "Softer" and "Harder" Camps

The largest collection centers for Muslims were organized in Omarska and Trnopolje. At the beginning (before internment), the elderly, women, and children were in Trnopolje, and able-bodied men at Omarska (at the site of a mining complex for working iron ore). Trnopolje, presumably because of the fact already mentioned, retained the status of the "softer camp," the one to which the "lighter cases" were taken.

All "suspicious" Muslim men were taken to Omarska, and the criteria concerning the suspects were, of course, highly arbitrary. That is where the substance of the suspicions was gone into, and this quite often involved beatings and torture. In addition to Muslims, certain Serbs were also taken to Omarska. These were mainly people who had been smuggling "surplus weapons," which, unfortunately for them, had been sold to the Muslims (!). As is usually the case, these were the "small fry" smugglers (it was the big fish who put them in prison), and they were given specific treatment in the camp (there is reliable knowledge that at least one of these people died from the results of beating).

VREME's sources say that the camp in Omarska, after being "spontaneously organized," in time became a burden on the organizers themselves. That is why the idea arose very quickly that these prisoners could be exchanged for Serbs imprisoned in Odzak (or somewhere else). It is said that this exchange was even offered to Izetbegovic, but he is said to have refused on grounds that those were not "his" Muslims: "His" Muslims "do not surrender," which is not improbable at all. The same sources say that the greatest problems arose only then. The question of what to do with so many people could not be avoided (releasing them would have meant the burden of a large number of avengers who would immediately take up guns; holding them meant that they had to be fed).

This was the time when the corridor between Bosanska Krajina and Serbia was not functioning yet, and there was no food even for their own population, much less for the "enemy." It is said that in that period eight prisoners shared one loaf of bread a day, and there was no hygiene whatsoever (occasional "baths" with hoses).

The first cases of death from illness and exhaustion also began to occur. Once the corridor between Krajina and Serbia was opened, the situation became somewhat more tolerable, and then fortunately the word got out in the world public, and even in the domestic public there were protests once it was learned that such a camp actually did exist.

It is assumed that the number of 11,000 prisoners in Omarska, which is often mentioned, is exaggerated, that there were no more than 6,000-7,000 people in the camp, and that that number had fallen to about 2,500 before the uproar in the media. It is impossible at this point to say how many people died in the camp (some sources speak of "extremists" occasionally being executed before firing squads outside the camp grounds, of trumped-up escape attempts, of deaths resulting from beatings...).

Most horrible of all, more horrible even than the actual knowledge of the immeasurable amount of human suffering buried in Omarska, Prijedor, Odzak, Sarajevo (...), was the impermissible possibility of attempting to cover up everything, or, still worse, justifying it.

That would be unjust even because of the immense segment of inhabitants of Omarska who wanted to object, but did not dare to in their own fascistized and armed environment, because of all the people who secretly threw cigarettes and bread over the fence, those who suffered in their own homes because of the suffering of people on the other side of the wire who until the day before had been their friends.

However difficult and unfair it is to speak of gradations in such situations, their pain is perhaps the most terrible: Torn between the need to scream out and the overwhelming fact that they were unable or did not dare to do that, they will bear on themselves the imprint of shame to the end of their lives.

RSK, UN Agree on Peace Plan Implementation

LD0409185792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 4 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Erdut, September 4 (TANJUG)—An agreement on the implementation of the United Nations peace plan in future was reached on Friday [4 September] between special U.N. secretary-general's envoy Marrack Goulding and the President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), Goran Hadzic.

Hadzic accepted Goulding's proposal that RSK reduce the number of policemen and border guards as the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is taking over control of the demarcation line between the troops of local Serbs and the Croatian Army.

RSK, which accounts for one-third of the territory within the administrative borders of Croatia and where Serbs are the majority population, was proclaimed by Serbs last year as a reply to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of Serbs to a national minority.

Hadzic said RSK would be further demilitarized on condition that UNPROFOR offer full protection to the Serbian people along the demarcation line, since there had been numerous provocations and attacks by the Croatian forces over the past few months.

Goulding told TANJUG's reporter he did not want to prejudge the future status of RSK, which is currently under the protection of the United Nations, noting that the future of all people in the region was bright if they succeeded in reconciling their differences and living in harmony. They can do this and the United Nations will help them, Goulding said.

The United Nations forces are to remain in RSK until the finding of a peaceful solution to the conflict between Croatia and Serbs, who want to continue living in Yugoslavia.

Goulding said he was satisfied with the conduct of the United Nations in Krajina over the past three months and said he hoped a political solution to the crisis would be found, even if it took several years.

Tudjman Meets UN Envoy, Holds Talks on Refugees

LD0509133792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Sep 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today had talks with UN Under Secretary Marrack Goulding. It has been revealed that they discussed a speedy return of refugees and ways of doing this, and ways of protecting refugees in the areas under UN protection. The UN Protection Forces are establishing where refugees can return right away, the statement says. They also discussed ways of opening and controlling roads to and from areas under the UN protection zones on the Zagreb-Slavonski Brod road, problems regarding the Maslenicki bridge, problems regarding water and electricity supplies to Zadar and Dalmatia, the Peruca dam, and the work of the so-called joint commissions working on these issues.

The last topic of the talks was the withdrawal of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army from areas south of Dubrovnik, where the Serbian and Montenegrin side is openly breaching the Vance plan, a statement issued by the president's office stresses.

Marrack Goulding agreed with this assessment and stressed that he told this to Panic. He added that he would brief UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali about all these conclusions.

Zecevic Denies 'Insinuations' About Panic Talks

LD0409212992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Knin, 3 Sep (TANJUG)— Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today denied "insinuations" in connection with his talks with Prime Minister Milan Panic about the RSK status.

"I most strenuously deny all insinuations on the part of Mr. Panic published by the press and in connection with talks about the RSK status," Zecevic told the Krajina Information Agency ISKRA.

"The truth is that I had hard and heated talks with Mr. Panic in his airplane about the fate of our people and the Krajina state, denying him the right to represent RSK interests."

Zecevic stressed "Krajina is not for sale nor for exchange nor for any political bargaining."

"Its people must and should decide about its fate," he said and stressed "there can be no political agreement with those who decided to annihilate our people" and that "secret Tudjman-Panic agreements cannot be valid for the RSK people."

This is, Zecevic said, the essence of his talks with Prime Minister Panic, whom he called "a trader of Serbian interest."

Federal

Assembly Votes Against No-Confidence Motion

LD0509023392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—The government will review all the suggestions and proposals made by deputies during the debate, Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said on Friday [4 September] evening, after the Federal parliament voted confidence in his cabinet.

Manifestly tired but satisfied after the exhausting debate which lasted all day, Panic declined to further comment on the course of the debate and only said that many useful observations had been put forward in the debate.

The government will decide what to take into consideration out of all which was said, Panic said.

In an open vote in the Chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav parliament, 66 deputies were against the motion of no-confidence in the Federal parliament, 30 were for and 7 abstained.

'Several Hundred' Protest No-Confidence Vote

LD0409124992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—An hour before the beginning of the debate on the participation of the Yugoslav delegation at the London conference and on the no-confidence vote in Prime Minister Milan Panic and his cabinet, several hundred citizens gathered in front of the FRY Assembly and expressed their discontent with the no-confidence vote by whistling and shouting.

Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, briefly appeared at the main entrance, where he was greeted with whistles and insults. Seselj responded with a wave, avoiding a verbal duel, and immediately returned inside.

Party Chairman Explains Views on Government

AU0409210492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] The FRY Chamber of Citizens began a debate this evening on confidence in Milan Panic and his cabinet. The presidents of the parliamentary groups asked to speak at the beginning, and for the end of this newscast, we are carrying what Borisav Jovic, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party of Serbia, said.

[Begin recording] Respected Prime Minister, respected chamber chairman, and respected deputies, you know very well that the Socialist Party of Serbia proposed Mr. Milan Panic as the Federal prime minister. He is our candidate. You know very well that we expect a lot from him and we are all aware that he has fallen into a hornets' nest and is faced with very difficult tasks under circumstances where perhaps, no not perhaps but certainly, through no fault of his own, he has not been in a situation to sufficiently know everything that a prime minister should know. He could not have all the information, as he had not dealt with this, about very delicate questions which are at the center of the resolution (?of the whole) of the Yugoslav crisis.

We offered him this mandate and entrusted him with it and gave him support with the desire that he would succeed and with the obligation of sharing responsibility. Of course, we want the same now and everything that we do has the aim of ensuring that we succeed in extricating ourselves from this crisis, finding a way to normal development, and sharing responsibility, too.

Since the beginning of the work of the present government, numerous things have happened, statements, criticism, and so on, as well as promises, which, in our opinion, have not been in line with what our party represents nor with what this assembly represents—which was established in its declaration—nor in line with the feelings and interests of our citizens and nation.

Our caucus has held several sessions at which the deputies insisted that this issue be raised and that the prime minister be criticized. Bearing in mind our international circumstances and the desire to protect the prime minister, to protect the government, we did not allow these criticisms to be publicly voiced here at sessions of the chamber because these issues are very sensitive and because all this is relayed live. We endeavored to create room for the prime minister to work, believing that this would not culminate to such a point that we would ask ourselves whether we can give him support and whether we can bear responsibility.

At a session of this caucus before the London conference, this had already acquired such dimensions that we could barely restrain the deputies, but we restrained them taking account of the national and state interest. Now after the conference, because things happened there too, we could no longer stop this. As you know, the caucus, no not the caucus but a group of deputies, a number of deputies from our caucus, put forward a proposal for a vote of confidence to be taken in the government. We discussed this in our organization, in our forums, and in the caucus, too, and we concluded that our party and our caucus wish all the very best for the government and wants to help it in its work. However, that will be possible if the government understands and accepts the criticism that we must level at it.

This is not therefore the moment for us to bring down the government but this is almost the last moment to very seriously and thoroughly point out to it some objections that we have regarding its work and to give it a chance to take these objections on board and ensure that they be eliminated in its future work.

I would ask the prime minister to understand that members of our caucus are going to present—in a very

fair, very well-argued, and very honest way—what we think about the work of the government. We think that this is our government, which we want to support and share the responsibility with. We are of the opinion that there are some vital national interests and issues that have yet to be solved, which the government fails to treat in a sufficiently precise way, and there is some vacillation in some directions which may endanger our interests. These are very serious things and we would like to help. Involved above all are the issues of the Serbian people in Croatia, Kosovo, and Metohija, and some other issues which are perhaps less significant, but are not insignificant and I would like our speeches here to be interpreted and accepted as our wish for this government to remain ours.

If the government accepts conclusions about three points that we are going to propose—and I think that there is absolutely no reason not to accept them—and if it accepts cooperation about these issues in the future not only at the Yugoslav Assembly sessions, but also before them and between the assembly sessions, I see no reason for us not to find a common language.

However, if the government reacts negatively to our constructive and well-intentioned criticism, if it is of the opinion that we have no idea what this is all about and that only it has an idea, then there will be a conflict between us. We do not want conflict.

I would like everybody to know that we are not an undemocratic caucus which can forbid deputies to speak. We can stop them for some time due to national interests. We are not lacking national feelings and failing to care about national interest, and we are not irresponsible people who support a government one day and overthrow it the next day. We want to help that government. We can help it if it wants help. If it does not want help, than we are going to have more conflicts at the coming sessions and I do not think that anyone wants that to happen.

I wanted to say this at the beginning so that it would be clear who we are, what we are, and in what way we wish to speak today. Deputies will certainly speak about individual remarks, and as this will be sufficient, I should not speak about them now. [end recording]

Panic Addresses Assembly on London Conference

AU0409132892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Speech by Prime Minister Milan Panic at the Federal Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, deputies: Regarding the report by the Yugoslav delegation that took part in the London conference, the report that you have in front of you, I would like to make only a few introductory remarks. I believe that the report offers an adequate insight into the work of the delegation and the results of the London conference. Moreover, the document contains plenty of facts.

Therefore, in this speech I would like to devote more attention to what I call the spirit and tone of the conference, and to the real opportunities created by it, as well as to express hope for the start of the serious settlement of the crisis, which we call Yugoslav, but which has considerably wider dimensions.

As you know, I and the government that I head, have been asked constantly from the very first day to prove in deeds rather than in words our serious intentions concerning our contribution toward the settlement of the crisis that has led Yugoslavia into a catastrophic war situation, destruction, devastation, and the senseless loss of human lives.

We are responding with deeds. Esteemed deputies, I would like you to consider and appreciate deeds rather then words. This time, when we are talking about the London conference, deeds are reflected in its results and scope, and its importance for the further peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

As regards the London conference, this time it marks a turning point in the peace process. In my view, the conference marks a turning point in the peace process in our region. I consider it a turning point.

In the peace process of the Conference on Yugoslavia, a Yugoslav delegation took part in the London conference for the first time. This was an official Yugoslav delegation. Prior to the conference, there was a debate in this house as to the capacity in which FRY President Dobrica Cosic and Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic would be going to the London conference.

We went to the conference in the capacity of a full and equal member: The president of Yugoslavia as the head of the delegation and myself as a member. The delegation also included the presidents of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, as well as others, of whom you have details in the report.

This very fact represents the first advance in our efforts to ensure that this country, this government, and this delegation are actually accepted as the FRY in London. The compromise that was reached with the participation of our delegation was the first highly favorable sign of the endeavors of the organizers and all the other participants to sit constructively and good-spiritedly at the London conference table.

Believe it or not, the Yugoslav delegation set the tone of the London conference with its participation, as well as with what preceded our participation.

Previous initiatives of the Yugoslav Government, which strongly emphasized the desire for a peaceful and acceptable settlement of all problems, obviously had a great effect on the whole world, and particularly on the United

Nations. This came to the fore in the introductory speech by British Prime Minister Major, who chaired the conference together with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. We were surprised and encouraged that for the first time Major said the following: We also will consider the following two documents. These are draft declarations, one on Serbia and the other on Bosnia. I hope that all sides will be able to accept them. Like the declaration of principles, they should be indisputable.

I consider that they are in line with Mr. Panic's recent letter to the UN Security Council. This letter had a tone of realism and restraint. It is important that this be translated into action, as it has been put forward in words. If all the Yugoslav sides at this conference, including Serbia, are willing to accept the drafts of these declarations, this would be the first encouraging sign. This is what Major said. Later on he said, if not, the world will have the right to doubt the good will of those who oppose this and to draw the corresponding conclusions.

As the second speaker at the conference, British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, the chairman of the European Community, said the following: Yugoslavia in general and Serbia in particular are faced with a serious choice, a very, very difficult choice, very serious. My translation was different from serious. He used a much weightier word. Sober, sober means the opposite of drunk.

Serbs must abandon the policy that has brought the region to collapse. Mr. Panic has clearly promised that they will do this. We are encouraged by this, but Serbia must agree to this as its obligation.

For the first time he said—and this is my comment—(?he) said that the Federation is responsible for foreign relations, so he recognized Yugoslavia for the first time. In this case, Serbia must comply with the policy of the Federation, which is the international recognition of the Federation. Serbia's conduct will be judged according to the obligations that Panic has undertaken. If it does not support them, it will pull Yugoslavia into deeper and deeper isolation.

I am sure that you know what that means for you. It means tragedy for our country. With such action, as well as the speeches of the presidents of the Republics and the president of the Federal Government and the entire contribution of the Yugoslav delegation, the conference moved in a new, more realistic, and conciliatory direction for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

The aggressive and accusatorial speeches by some delegations did not have much of an effect, but were lost in the darkness of the dregs of the old warmongering approach.

When we discussed the preparations for the London conference, we said that we would not go into a courtroom and that we would not go before a tribunal at which Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro would simply be put on trial. Again believe it or not, there actually was no courtroom or tribunal. Here and there, the odd delegation condemned us for what we did before, but most of the delegations did not pay attention to that since the tone was peaceful. The tone of peace was brought by our delegation.

In a very constrained and balanced way, the London conference assessed the responsibility of everyone for the crisis and war conflicts for the first time. From such positions it is much easier to move toward a real peace process. As proof of this, military intervention was not supported as the solution to the war conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. You all know who called for this.

The conference did not accept one-sided assessments about the supposed aggression of the Serbs, but warned every side in the war conflicts equally that they must make maximum effort to achieve a cease-fire and the consentaneous political solution of all quarrels that have led to the war conflict.

Considering that this has been a time of very clear activity by Muslim countries to one-sidedly condemn the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was very important that the London conference did not in one single document accept the idea of a religious war. So, the concept of a religious war has been laid to rest. In this concept, Muslims alone were the victims of Christians, and when they said Christians they meant Serbs.

The great campaign that was conducted regarding the so-called concentration camps—the best public relations campaign that I have ever seen—actually came to an end in London and was reduced to energetic condemnation of all camps and prisons but to the same extent for everyone. Moreover, it was demanded that all camps be closed.

This kind of approach corresponds to all our endeavors to stop a dark side of a serious human tragedy, to release the prisoners, close the camps, and turn people toward work and peace and not fear for their very lives.

Considering these conference stands, it is clear that the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has remained alone in its demands for military intervention and that the world has finally understood the nature of the conflict in that troubled country. The positive tone and spirit of the conference were expressed in the so-called declaration on Serbia and Montenegro. That document, if I have interpreted its essence properly, gives us very good opportunities.

I will quote the final point in this document. If, as suggested in the recent letter by Mr. Panic to the president of the UN Security Council, Serbia and Montenegro really want to fulfill their obligations in deeds and not only in words, they will again occupy a prominent place in the international community. The sanctions will be lifted. They will be allowed to trade, to receive help, and to enjoy the full cooperation of all members of the international community. Yugoslav pride would be restored.

However, if they do not (?do this), the Security Council will immediately apply harsh sanctions that would lead to their total international isolation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am convinced that the path of peace, cooperation, the way out of international isolation, the lifting of sanctions, and a return to work, order, and economic recovery, which is offered to us with this, and which our government also is consciously striving for, corresponds to the true wishes and hopes of our citizens and our entire nation. I also am convinced that you, as elected representatives of the people, will be true interpreters of these achievements of the London conference and this path that the international community has offered us.

We returned from London satisfied with its successes and outcome, proud that we did a lot, and happy that we will be able in this spirit and with such expectations to continue work in Geneva. Our delegation, the Yugoslav delegation, acted in a strong, effective, and united way at the conference. We had quite a lot of talks and agreements about certain stands in the conference documents. It would be wrong to think that we always were in agreement. We met together in our small room. We all gave our opinions, which were not always the same, and in the end whenever we left that room the Yugoslav delegation was of one opinion. You can be proud of the way we behaved at that conference and [words indistinct] to some stands in the conference document, but we were united in our actions regarding the conference.

We did not conduct any secret negotiations at all. There are no secrets at this kind of conference. It is true that almost all the conference was held behind closed doors. It was not the conference that you saw on television; what you saw in that large conference hall was 30-40 percent of the conference at the most. Most of what was done was behind closed doors, as we say. However, these are not secret conferences. These are ways to conduct world diplomacy. However, this contributed the most to eliminating extremes calmly and without passion and bile and to achieving the best solution at the conference itself.

The events after the conference fully confirm our stands at the London conference, our assessments of its work, and our understanding of the (?adopted) documents. Those who lost at the conference are now sincerely complaining that the military intervention option was not accepted. We have learned that the option that was in reserve at the London conference to be used if reason and a desire for peace did not prevail among the Yugoslav participants contained all elements of military intervention.

Many people also are complaining that the other variant for introducing new and stricter sanctions, which contained 47 new points, did not replace the existing option that leads to the possible scrapping of the sanctions.

We must not, however, cut ourselves off and consider ourselves victors in London. We must now more than ever work on the elimination of all remaining causes which have led to the crisis and to the introduction of sanctions. The world expects this of us. I promise the world that we will do this. Only when peace is achieved and the killing stops and destruction stops and people return to their houses and homes and their families and no one is in misery and poverty, and when there are no lines for food, fuel or gas, only then can we consider ourselves victors.

I am convinced that after the London conference we are now on the best road to achieving this. I thank you for your attention.

President Reviews Results of Conference

AU0409132392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Speech by President Dobrica Cosic at the Federal Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, urgent work, work limited to time that is running out rapidly, forced the delegation to present its report now on its participation in the international Conference on Yugoslavia in London on 26 and 27 August. I ask you for your understanding for our lack of compliance with assembly procedures.

Ladies and gentlemen of the assembly, you have before you a detailed report on the conference in London in which you can observe the activities and positions of our state delegation, the main documents from the conference, our general conclusions and contributions that give you a wider view of the spirit and character of this eminent international forum.

The delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is confident that it followed the basic instructions that were contained in the conclusions of the Federal Assembly. The delegation believes that it put forward—with arguments and dignity—the vital national interests of the people of Serbia and Montenegro who are united in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; that it fought convincingly and persistently in London for peaceful, political, and just solutions within the Yugoslav state and political reconstruction [prekompozicija]; and tried to convince the international community that it is reasonable and just to free us from the sanctions and threats of military intervention.

This is one of the basic conditions for normalizing and stabilizing the Yugoslav and Balkan arena. Therefore, with a conviction that, within the limits of our abilities and the situation and serving the causes of peace and cooperation among the peoples as well as better understanding of our situation and our policy, we made an honorable contribution to the positive results of the London conference, allow me to make several very general remarks. I hope these remarks, along with a more specific report by Federal Prime Minister Panic, can complete our report that you are going to discuss.

Being aware of its responsibility, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia delegation has not for a moment forgotten that it has no right to make any decision without your consent, without the consent of the people of Serbia and Montenegro. We were forced to accept some decisions made by the powerful, which, I am sure, you would not have accepted. Therefore, we have not adopted them either. I understand that an occasional unmeasured statement and arbitrary expression by a participant, that is, a member of the state delegation, may cause (?your) justified discontent and concern among the general public, you and the rest of our people should not forget that without the mandate of this assembly, that is, without the political mandate of the people of Montenegro and Serbia, one cannot sign a single state agreement. As regards some political reactions, although their motive was understandable, their expression was excessively strong.

The conference also confirmed that our country's international position is extremely difficult and its future entangled in many uncertainties. The international constellation and the relation of forces in the world today do not favor our national and state interests. The breakup of Yugoslavia and its structure, carried out in the most hapless way—the breakup turned into an interethnic civil and religious war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina—has caused true tragedy among the Yugoslav peoples. Internal Yugoslav and external international factors which fomented and realized the secession and destruction of Yugoslavia managed—along with the influence of our traditional and stubborn political fallacies and mistakes—to make Serbia and Montenegro appear before the international and world public to be responsible for war, exodus, ethnic cleansing, devastation of towns, in a word—for immense human troubles and suffering on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

With the abandonment of the basic principles of international law—above all the right for self-determination of peoples—the application of double standards for Yugoslavia on the part of the EC, the CSCE, and other forums of the international community, the lack of readiness to see the reality, the bias motivated by selfish state interests of certain European and international parties, the proclamation of Serbia and Montenegro as aggressors and culprits for the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Security Council was granted the legitimate right to punish us with expulsion from the international community and to carry out a total blockade of our country. Isolated from the world, ideologically demonized and ostracized, we have become a European and world problem— the most hapless fame that we have ever experienced. We have become a target of European and international policy, but lacking the allies and power to defend our freedom, rights, and truth. As such, we then found ourselves at the international Conference on Yugoslavia in London.

The conference marked a turnabout in positions in the international community toward the Yugoslav problem, the assessment of responsibility for the tragedy of all three peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the stated positions in the quest for political solutions for establishing peace and the normalization of the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

The positive changes could have been noticed in the behavior of the international parties, in the way our delegation was received, in the announcement of a more tolerant political framework for finding ways of settling disputes peacefully, particularly in the increased direct influence of the United Nations.

From the Yugoslav point of view, the London conference is successful because it has finally, I hope, convinced the world that without our participation on an equal basis, there is no solution to the Yugoslav crisis and the stabilization of the situation in the Balkans.

We have been forced to accept the state and political reconstruction of the Balkans as a new historical situation—and we have been forced to do so in the name of national and human rights—but it has become clear that positive results of this great change are impossible without our collective political will, that is, without respecting our interests.

Ladies and gentlemen of the assembly, in London we took upon ourselves extraordinarily difficult obligations and duties that we have to perform. These obligations are not only state and political in character, they are also the greatest challenge to the moral essence of our people and a test of our working and spiritual powers. In a word, we must meet the obligations established, although in some points and forms they are contrary to national feelings and some conflict with our direct interests.

However, reasonably interpreted state interest today must lie beyond our emotions. Historically understood state interest today implies sacrifice as well. The one who fails to understand that this is the hour of our survival and who is not ready to completely subject himself to this aim has no place in this country's politics.

Finally and irrevocably, the time has come for responsible and reasonable people. In this struggle for survival and progress, there is no place for recalcitrant, desperate, angry, and weak people, or for indifferent cynics. If at this moment we are forced to make compromises which are—some justifiedly—experienced as defeats, you should know that today we are winning prerequisites, time, and space for making reasoned plans for a new future.

Within the scope of our civilian, national, and state responsibility; within (?the power) to share as justly as possible the burden of duties, deprivation, deficiency, and suffering of all kinds; and within the power of our civilian solidarity in bearing all consequences of blockade and sanctions and the efforts to free ourselves from them, lies the belief that a more tranquil future is beginning in our country now.

By saying this, I am not offering you false hopes. I remind you of many challenges our people and other peoples have encountered in the recent history, and experience of these challenges should comprise the consciousness of the present generations.

If at the beginning of the war, Winston Churchill promised his people blood, sweat, and tears, allow me who holds this post and performs this duty to offer efforts, sacrifices, and responsibility for one's own destiny at the beginning of the new peace. I am convinced that we will manage to renew civil awareness, conscience, moral power, and historical energy of our peoples, that we will be able to stop mindless ideological bickering and barren, immoral, and blaze politicking, that in patriotism and democracy we will find cure to our sick social and political being, and, as modern peoples, manage to sensibly face the world reality we are surrounded by and circumstances that we created ourselves.

Obligations that ensue from the conclusions of the London conference must sober us up. We are either going to create an enlightened and democratic society and a modern and efficient state freed of bureaucratic parasitism, recalcitrance, and lawlessness and equipped for an equal existence in the word community, or we are going to remain in the Balkans [corrects himself] or we are going to remain a Balkan reservation of [word indistinct], poverty, tribal mythomania, and anachronic domestic passions.

In these days we are finally deciding between true values of life and the aims worthy of a historically mature nation and living under false impressions of ourselves. This choice does not belong only to us who are now present here in this prominent house, but to all who are uneasy about our decisions and who are today listening to our words.

If in these fateful moments, we justifiably revere the virtues and heritage of our predecessors, we must bear in mind that we borrowed both this house and the whole of our country from our descendants. Thank you.

Cosic Envisages Elections at End of Nov

AU0409211892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] After the adoption of conclusions on the participation of the Yugoslav delegation at the London Conference, FRY President Dobrica Cosic stated exclusively for Belgrade Radio that Yugoslavia will endeavor to continue to conduct the policy that it has conducted until now and that it will do its utmost to ensure that peace is achieved, as well as a just democratic solution of the Yugoslav problem.

Apart from foreign policy, we also have much to do in domestic policy too, Dobrica Cosic stressed, adding that electoral laws should be adopted as soon as possible and early elections should be embarked upon. He added that he hoped that this will be done during this month and that the elections will be held at the end of November.

Compromise Reached on Election System

LD0409203292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0639 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—The government and opposition, sitting at a round table at federal level on Thursday [3 September] evening, took a big step forward when they decided that consultations on the election system should continue on the basis of proportional representation. This option has so far been opposed by Serbia's ruling Socialist Party (SPS).

A ten-member task force was set up, which should call another round-table conference in the course of the next few days, at which the government and the opposition parliamentary parties should negotiate conditions for early elections expected to be called later this year.

The SPS, which alone of the participants has so far advocated majority representation, offered a compromise which takes into account elements of the proportional representation system and envisages for setting up more constituencies in Serbia.

Further debate showed that, with the exception of the SPS and the Serbian Government, everybody else was in favour of having only two constituencies in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - its constituent republics of Serbia and Montenegro, respectively. Representatives of Montenegro's ruling party and Government abstained from voting on the issue.

Delegation Members to Geneva Conference Named

LD0609205292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 6 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that is to participate in the Geneva conference will be headed by Federal Government member Dr. Ljubisa Rakic; his assistant will be Ambassador Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced this evening.

Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic, Ambassador Nikola Cacinovic, Rade Drobac of the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Colonel Miodrag Starcevic of the Ministry of Defense, will represent the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the working group for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The group for humanitarian issues includes Dr. Obrad Racic, professor at the Belgrade University Faculty of Politics, Montenegrin Foreign Ministry official Vilijam Novosel, Sladjana Prica, FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Momirka Marinkovic, representative of the Ministry of Labor, Health, and Social Welfare.

The group for national minorities includes Konstantin Obradovic, the Institute for International Policy and

Economy, Milan Gajovic, representative of Montenegro, Lidija Basta-Posavec, the Institute for European Studies, and Sladjana Prica and Zagorka Ilic, the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The group for succession includes Dr. Dobrosav Mitrovic, Facutly of Politics, Dr. Miroslav Sulaja and Sanja Petrovic, the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mira Stavljanin, the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The economic group includes Dr. Kosta Mihajlovic, member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, Dr Janko Radulovic, representative of Montenegro, Borisa Vukovic, Dr. Dragana Ignjatovic, and Dragoljub Dimitrijevic, all of the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Group for Confidence-Building and Security includes Ambassador Nikola Cacinovic, Colonel Miodrag Starcevic, Colonel Sarac, and General Vladimir Vojvodic, the Ministry of Defense, and Milan Zivkovic, the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Drought Destroys 10-12 Percent of Crop

LD0409111792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1014 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—An unprecedented drought in the summer months is feared to have destroyed between 10 percent and 12 percent of this year's crop in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it was heard at the Yugoslav Government's session on Thursday [3 September] devoted to a discussion of the current situation in agriculture.

The drought has inflicted losses on agriculture totalling 105 billion dinars (roughly 520 million dollars), the Federal Information Ministry quotes the government as saying.

The government, however, believes that the production of basic agricultural produce and foodstuffs, together with the existing reserves, will be sufficient to meet the domestic needs. There will be enough milk, sugar, edible oil and meat, but probably not tobacco, the statement said.

The Federal Government recommended to the board of governors of the the National Bank of Yugoslavia (central bank) to examine the feasibility of financing the buy-off of the autumn harvest, live- stock production and wheat sowing from primary issue within the defined monetary frameworks.

The Federal Ministry of Agriculture was instructed to keep the government abreast of current problems in agriculture this autumn, estimate the losses caused by the drought and propose measures for alleviating the consequences.

Serbia

UN Envoy Arrives for Talks With Milosevic

LD0409161192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 4 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—U.N. Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding arrived in Belgrade from Sarajevo on Friday [4 September], when he is expected to be received by President Slobodan Milosevic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Goulding and a top-level team of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), comprising force Commander, Gen. Satish Nambiar, Director for Civil Affairs Cedric Thornberry and a number of other senior UNPROFOR officers, will on Friday confer also with Yugoslav Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic and members of the Federal Government Committee for Cooperation with the U.N. Peace-Keeping Troops.

Goulding and his team will leave for Zagreb, capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, on Friday evening.

Discusses UN Peacekeeping Role

LD0409190592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 4 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Peace-Keeping Operations Marrack Goulding said in Belgrade on Friday [4 September] that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had so far successfully implemented the U.N. peace-keeping plan in areas under its protection.

Milosevic welcomed U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's recommendation that UNPROFOR's mandate be extended to war-torn regions in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

UNPROFOR is currently in control of the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), proclaimed by Serbs last year within the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in reply to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of Serbs to a national minority.

Milosevic pointed out the importance of the United Nations' active participation in the political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and particularly its direct engagement in the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva. The Geneva talks are to objectively view all facts about the Yugoslav crisis and find a just solution for a lasting peace, Milosevic said.

Wants To Extend UNPROFOR Mandate

LD0509113992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0307 GMT 5 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—UN Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations Marrack Goulding said on Friday [4 September] evening that he would recommend to the UN Security Council to extend the mandate of the UN Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) to Bosnia-Hercegovina and a reinforcement of its troops for the protection of UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] convoys in that war-stricken former Yugoslav republic.

After a meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic in Belgrade, Goulding told the press that the crash of the Italian plane carrying relief supplies to Bosnia was a serious problem. He recalled that over 20 planes with about 250 tonnes of aid had daily landed at Sarajevo airport since the opening of the humanitarian air corridor two months ago. Goulding also expressed the hope that the airlift would soon resume.

Four Italians were killed in the crash of an Italian plane on Thursday near the town of Konjic, 30 km west of Sarajevo, in the territory controlled by Muslim and Croatian forces.

Goulding declined to comment on the causes of the crash before the end of an investigation by an Italian expert team.

Goulding expressed concern about the fact that the areas under UN protection (UNPAS), within the adminstrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, had not been demilitarized yet. A peace plan by UN secretary general's special envoy Cyrus Vance provides for a demilitarization of these areas.

The Serbs have proclaimed their own republic in the areas where they constitute a majority, in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

Asked about possible differences in approach between Panic and Milosevic, Goulding said that not only there were no differences of opinon but that he had received firm assurances from them that they would take action to overcome problems.

Goulding also said that he had exerted pressure on Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Sarajevo on Thursday to step up the operation of placing Serb positions with heavy arms under UN control, as part of a commitment made by Karadzic at the international conference on Yugoslavia held in London last week. Goulding said that Karadzic had informed him that progress had been made in preparations for this operation.

Goulding, who was accompanied by UNPROFOR Commander General Satish Nambiar of India, arrived in Belgrade from Sarajevo on Friday afternoon. After his talks with Milosevic, Panic and members of the federal government commission for cooperation with the United Nations, Goulding was due to leave for Zagreb on Friday and for Geneva on Saturday to submit a report to Vance who has been appointed co-chairman of the steering committee of the London Conference on Yugoslavia.

Milosevic Meets UK's Wareing, Discusses Solutions

LD0709153792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 7 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, today received Robert Wareing, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and vice chairman of the British-Yugoslav group in the British Parliament. In the course of a lengthy talk, views were exchanged about topical issues of interest to the efforts to find a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

In a statement, the Serbian president's office stresses that Milosevic and Wareing expressed hope that the conference in Geneva will contribute to peace efforts and their implementation as well as to the efforts to achieve a stable peace and to find a just and lasting solution. Attention was drawn to the need for an objective approach to the causes of the Yugoslav crisis by international factors which would imply an end to unilateral pressures on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the lifting of the sanctions that have placed the country in an unequal position.

Robert Wareing endorsed President Milosevic's view that world opinion's current image of Serbia is not a realistic but an imposed one. According to him, it is encouraging that an increasing number of people are becoming aware that secession by individual parts of Yugoslavia and their premature recognition on the part of the EC are behind the conflict in the Yugoslav space. It is also becoming increasingly clear, Wareing stressed, that all three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina were responsible for what has been happening there.

The two sides shared the view that by their unbiased attitude at Geneva negotiations, the international factors involved in the efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis should contribute to the efforts to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to resume negotiations to reach as soon as possible a peaceful and lasting solution on the basis of equal respect for the interests and rights of all three nations.

President Milosevic stressed that accusations against Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of their alleged aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina were unfounded; namely, there are no soldiers from Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Therefore, the Yugoslav side proposed at the London conference that UN observers be sent to all army units on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the task of precisely establishing who is violating the cease-fire and whose formations are fighting there. This will clearly show that not a single soldier of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is

fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina while the regular Croatian army troops are fighting there on a mass scale.

In the course of the meeting they also discussed the implementation of legitimate rights and interests of the Serbian people in Krajinas. They concluded that the UN Protection Force operation was being successfully implemented, while open questions must be resolved through direct negotiations with legitimate representatives of the Serbian people in Krajinas.

Robert Wareing was interested in the state of national minority rights in the Republic of Serbia. In this connection, President Milosevic stressed that the human and minority rights in Serbia are implemented according to the highest CSCE standards, while the status of autonomous provinces was the internal issue of the Republic of Serbia which is regulated by its constitution.

Wareing expressed his expectation that after the sanctions have been lifted a process of reestablishing links between Yugoslavia and the European Community will follow and the Republic of Serbia will take an active part in the process.

President Meets Norway's Foreign Minister

LD0409210192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1546 GMT 4 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, on Friday [4 September] said he expected the intensified engagement of the United Nations in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and the numerous missions of the world organization, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and other international forums would help create an unbiased picture of the policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia.

Milosevic said during a meeting with Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg that the Geneva negotiations on the implementation of the conclusions adopted by the international Conference on Yugoslavia in London last week would also help clarify the actual causes of the war conflict in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The statement released on the meeting between Milosevic and Stoltenberg said the Norwegian minister, for his part, underscored his Government's readiness to contribute to the establishment of peace and the revival of cooperation and confidence in the Balkans.

Stoltenberg arrived on an one-day visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Friday, as part of his fact-finding mission in the former Yugoslav republics.

The Norwegian minister visited the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Sarajevo, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, and the capital of Serbia's province of Kosovo and Metohija, Pristina, on Thursday and Friday.

Stoltenberg met in Pristina with the head of the Kosovo and Metohija district, Dr. Milos Simovic. Simovic said ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija enjoyed all the rights guaranteed to national minorities but did not want to exercise them because they do not recognize the Republic of Serbia and only insist on the independence of Kosovo and its secession.

Stoltenberg met in Pristina also with Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK), the largest ethnic Albanian party in the province, without the press attending. It was learned, however, that Rugova said he was dissatisfied with the international community's stand that the problem of Kosovo be resolved within the framework of the Republic of Serbia.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Party Leader Criticized

LD0309213992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1413 GMT 3 Sep 92

[Text] Novi Sad, September 3 (TANJUG)—The Association of Hungarians for Motherland Serbia and Yugoslavia on Thursday [3 September] sharply criticized the President of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM), Andras Agoston, for his latest expression of "separatist aspirations and intentions to lead his people to self-exile."

On the alleged colonization of Northern Backa with refugees from war-torn regions, a statement, signed on behalf of the Association's executive board by Jozsef Vlaovics, said Agoston in fact had "a plan and pompously intends to carry out an ethnic cleansing of 150,000 ethnic Hungarians".

The DZVM, which rallies ethnic Hungarians in the Serbian province of Vojvodina, said on Wednesday it was against the Serbian Government's plan to shelter refugees and the homeless from war-stricken parts of former Yugoslavia in regions where material and other conditions exist and that the number of new-comers should not exceed 3.7 percent of the local population.

The DZVM said it was against a new colonization of Vojvodina since the settlement of refugees would violently change the national structure of the population.

"We wonder on whose behalf has Agoston assumed the role of a Moses and for whose ends is he using the ethnic Hungarian minority which is tired of his separatist policy," said the leadership of the Association, adding that Yugoslav Hungarians "do not need lords' plans for autonomy and pashalics [word as received], but a honourable life together with other nations and nationalities in an integral Yugoslavia".